1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20



## III. RELIGION

### Shamanism

756 Shamans became such through dreams. However, not all dreams were inter-
787 preted as a transfer of supernatural power, even though they had a flavor of uncanniness. Thus, a Washo dreaming of a deceased sister or cousin would feel bad and refrain from talking about it, but this was not a call to shamanistic office.[28] Similarly, Bill once dreamed of many people of a kind unknown to the Washo and wearing no clothes. They were all big men and made fun of Bill, who got scared, thinking they might kill him, and woke up. Sometimes he dreamed of rattlesnakes and bull snakes.

756 The type of dream that leads to power is illustrated by Dave's report of an experience described by his grandfather in Dave's youth. A Washo might be somewhere in the valley when a west wind is blowing. He hears a sound . . . "zii . . . i." He thinks about it and in the middle of the night the little bit of noise enters his head and talks to him. As yet the prospective shaman tells nobody about his experience. Then he will again get a call in the dead of night from the place where he first heard the whistling. Waking up, he puts on his footgear and runs toward the rock or hill where he heard it. As soon as he gets there, this thing speaks as follows, in a whisper: "Now be a good man, doctor your own people and save them always as long as you live. Go back to where you were sleeping. Wake up before sunrise, drop yourself into the water, bathe. Do this on four mornings. Then begin to doctor some man, but do not charge any fee the first time, see what you can do for him. Treat him for four nights. If you cure him, it means that you are to be a doctor always. The second time you cure somebody, you may accept a buckskin, and thereafter you may ask for anything you wish."

This pictures a benevolent shaman without making it clear whether Dave had a particular person in mind or an ideal character. The medicine man he described would tell the people about his protector: "I do nothing that is wrong, I do what is right; he [my familiar] bids me doctor people and cure every one of them." All who were sick would accordingly go to him, saying, "Let us treat the old doctor well and make him treat us well. He has already cured four or five persons, and perhaps he will do better [?]." They gave him
756 good food, beads, or a buckskin to keep him satisfied.[29] When he died, all the
766 people for twenty miles around—possibly 400 to 500 of them—assembled and cried aloud. They dug a big hole, put him in, and buried him. If Dave's data on the disposal of ordinary persons' corpses are correct, this suggests differential treatment of shamans (see p. 310).

756 The nature of the familiar remains obscure. Bill said, "I don't know, I think it must be God who talks to the doctor in his dream." This "God" tells his

[28] For other dreams about dead persons, see p. 323.

[29] Another Indian mentioned a nice basket as a possible fee. He said that nowadays (1926) one would-be doctor charged $20 and more, but he did not really know how to cure and was merely cheating his patients.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20



protégé exactly what to do. But this informant did not restrict doctoring to 756
dreamers. According to him, the Man Up in the Air, called by the Washo "This [776]
Man Up Here" and identical with the being who made the Washo and other
tribes come out of a basket (p. 333), made medicines for the Washo to use in
treating different ailments. At one time he owned everything—thunder, light-
ning, and so forth. Doctors would dig up some of the roots created by this
deity. "Sometimes I myself dig up roots and give something to God. I say, 'I
am giving something. I need this one. Now I am paying you, make it good for
me.' If I cut myself and begin to bleed I rub wild parsnip and water on the [752]
wound, then it gets better and stops bleeding. I have treated my sons with
roots. I would treat a stranger for a fee, but have never done so."

The dream doctor's (tamo'mli) technique consisted largely in smoking, pon- 755
dering, sucking (tepe'mu''suki) at the assumed place of affliction, and extract-
ing the cause. He would spit out objects, the last one expectorated being the
pathogenic agent. Putting it on his palm, he would look at it, as would his
spectators. Sometimes it was a bug. The shaman put hot ashes on his hand,
rubbed them on the bug, killed it, and threw it away. The patient would get
better and possibly in a week feel as well as ever. In the old days a treatment
always lasted four nights. Dave said that only old men doctored, but another
informant said that some women also treated the sick.

A myth (p. 337) illustrates the essential procedure. Specifically, it suggests 756
the importance of smoking. A messenger is sent to summon Coyote to a patient 773
and asks the trickster, "Do you sometimes smoke for somebody?" Coyote,
feigning modesty, replies, "Oh, once in a while I light tobacco for a smoke.
That is why they call me a doctor." He brings a mink hide full of tobacco
and a big pipe, sings twice on seeing his patient, shakes his globular rattle, and
smokes twice. His mouth does not feel dry, so he prophesies the young woman's
recovery. Her mother then offers him a buckskin, but he insists on pine nuts.

Characteristically, when the girl of the story dies the bereaved mother sus-
pects the doctor of poisoning her and sends Porcupine and Skunk to kill him.
Yet nothing in the report of his activities indicates that he had contemplated
more than duping the mother into a payment of food.

Such correlation of shamanistic power with evil magic is prominent in 756
Washo belief, even apart from medical treatment. About forty-five years ago 754
(Dave *loq.* 1926), a race was held in Carson. The half-brother of Dave's father-
in-law was refused admittance to the race course. He was very angry and mut-
tered Washo words of revenge. He made magic between his palms, spitting
into his right palm and clenching his fist. Then, when the racers in the carts
got to the last turn in the course, he opened his fist, thumb separated from the
fingers. Two of the racers were upset and killed. The shaman gloated over this
result. Subsequently the same man poisoned several Indians. One of the ag-
grieved relatives went to the shaman's house, talked with him in a friendly
fashion, and finally pretended to take leave of him. When the doctor had cov- [683]
ered himself with his blanket, the visitor took out a hidden hatchet and cracked
the malefactor's skull with it.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20



756 In such cases the doctor's friends, recognizing his guilt, made no attempt to
754 avenge his death. Sometimes when a shaman had poisoned several persons,
683 four or five Washo would get together and say, "We have got to kill him, or you and I'll be poisoned." Dave dictated the following relevant sentences in Washo:

[539] The doctor is mad. He tries to poison us all, it seems to us. That's the way he used to do in the old days. A Washo doctor always tried to injure his own people in the old days.

Sometimes another shaman finds out about the poisoning, and then the victim's father may get one of his other sons to kill the sorcerer. "This is the old Washo way," said Dave.

754 Notwithstanding the benevolence Dave ascribed to a doctor (p. 318), he made it clear that the same man who cured by suction might at another time poison a man he hated. This was not like white people's poisoning. The sorcerer merely took a bath in the cool of the early morning on four successive days and talked to himself. When ready, he would get within possibly five hundred yards of his victim. Then he would rub some stuff into the palm of his hand till it became invisible. He also took some fine sand and stepped on it with his left foot. His victim would fall sick, and within two days the heart would be knocked out of him without any one's suspecting the cause, so that he would die. This happened about seventy years ago (Dave *loq.* 1926) to two white men who had refused to give a doctor bread. Some doctors used a different procedure, picking up dust and scattering it toward their enemy with their hands.

789 Shamanistic power was not confined to causing and curing disease, but also
791 involved various forms of wonderworking. The method of luring antelope into a pound (p. 325) was conveyed in a dream, and so was ability to withstand bullets. About the latter Dave had heard his brother tell the following story:

[224] One Washo Indian dreamt about bullets and guns. He called together some of his
784 relatives. "I want to show you my dreams. I've been dreaming four years now. I thought it left me, but still I am dreaming. I'll see whether I dream right or not." To the boys
539 he said, "Sit down." He took five round bullets, dug a little hole in the ground, and made
787 fine dust. He put the bullets into the hole. "Watch." The biggest boy was about thirteen
791 or fourteen. "See if the bullets melt down." The dreamer took four smokes—of cigarettes of Indian tobacco. When he lit the last one, he said, "Look at the bullet, see what is going to happen." The bullets had all melted; they cooled down flat. He picked them up. "That's the way I dreamt. I dreamt right. I dreamt about bullets and powder."

He did the same way with powder. He got half a teaspoonful of powder and put it into the hole. He rolled tobacco in four pieces and smoked. After the last one, he told the others present to watch. "See what the powder will turn into; I dreamt it would be water." It melted down to water. "I dreamt right, I'll do something else after a while."

He loaded a gun and told an old man to shoot him. "I dare not; perhaps I'll kill you." "Try it; I dreamt I'd never get shot, the gun would never go off." He cocked the hammer and got it ready. "See if you can shoot me with the gun. I put my mind on it." The old man asked the dreamer's son, "Shall we kill your father?" "Well, try; maybe the bullets don't go to him. Maybe his dream is right; we'll find out." The man pointed the gun at the dreamer's heart. He tried to pull the trigger. "Pull as hard as you can." It stuck. "I can't make it go off." The dreamer said, "Let me try the gun." "The trigger does not work." He pointed it at a stick and discharged it. "That's the way I dreamt about this gun."

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20



## Ceremonialism

### SWEAT LODGE

515 Dave said the Washo never sweated, but he had seen the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake sweating by pouring water on rocks,—in order to reduce their fat, a friend from there had told Dave. Notwithstanding this denial, sweating 515 (titɔ'ctu'ive) was a Washo practice, though of peculiar type and restricted to 224 one special occasion. Sometimes a man who had been hunting deer in vain 789 would build a small booth, make a charcoal fire there, enter, and sweat. No [343] rocks were heated, and there was no attempt to produce vapor. After sweating, the hunter went to the river and took a swim. On the following day he would see a deer. The booth was called pehe"tsiŋ t'a'ŋa, little house; whether this is a specific name for the institution, is not clear. Bill gave another term, a'ŋalita kumto'ca.

Bill, whose father had sweated as a deer hunter, said that before jumping into the creek the sweater put medicine on his head and rubbed it into his hair.

[114] My information thus contradicts Kroeber's,* who records—though as a [177] probably recent intrusion—the Plains Indian type of skin- or mat-covered booth heated by steam.

### ANTELOPE CHARMING

624 The Antelope chief (ai'yɔs kumomli") was distinct from the tribal chief and 224 the leaders of the deer hunt and jack-rabbit hunt, respectively. He alone got 756 his power by dreaming, that is, was a shaman (Dave). No Antelope chief was 787 living in 1926, so the following statement refers wholly to the past. Jack had seen one Antelope chief, but even in his youth antelope had become scarce.

The Antelope chief sees some antelope in a dream. He reflects about it and goes to the place dreamt about in the mountains. He sees two or three head, then he knows his dream is true. He begins to talk to them. He does not tell anyone as yet, but keeps his own counsel and studies the matter himself. He continues dreaming three or four times. Then he begins talking to the antelope, taking a pipe. He wants to see what he can do. He looks at the antelope, he lets them see him walking alongside of them; they do not run away. He does this two or three times. Soon he tells the people to come together and says, "My people, I have dreamt truly or falsely, I don't know which. In the place I dreamt of last night there were forty antelope banded together. If I dreamt truly, you'll see them there this morning." He sends two boys to the place as scouts. They look for game and see ten or fifteen head feeding there together. The boys do not let the antelope see them. They go back and tell the chief, "Your dream is true, we saw a herd right there." That evening he studies the matter again while in bed. He dreams again and tells his people, "Well, I dreamt last night, I dreamt right before. I dreamt of two antelope last night, you fellows drove them into the corral, we all killed them and had something to eat." The old people answer: "Yes, if you dreamt right, we'll have meat, we'll try tomorrow to go after them."

[113] * Kroeber, Handbook, 572.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20



The corral (mo'dap) is about an acre in size, with a chute leading to the entrance. Sagebrush is piled so high that the antelope cannot jump out. The men go to drive the antelope in. The chief stands just back of the corral, smoking his pipe. He says, "I'll stay home behind the corral. If I dreamt right, you'll drive them in and we'll kill them. If they get scared at you fellows, we can't help it; but I think we'll kill them easily in the corral." When the antelope are near, he says to the beasts, "Don't get scared, come on easily now, don't get discouraged, listen to my words. We are making a home for you, you have come a great way." The antelope stop and look toward him. They are not afraid at all, but keep quiet, like sheep driven into a pen. Instead of scattering, they come into the sagebrush pen. He says to the people, "When I tell you, then is the time to shout." When all are in the pen, the people close up, and the chief bids them commence killing. They use their bows and arrows, and some hit the game over the head with clubs. The chief says, "My people, look at them, kill the biggest in the whole herd, I'll have that one." They kill it and give it to the chief. Of the rest, three or four men will share one animal. They like it, cut up the meat, cook and eat it right there. First the chief says, "I dreamt antelope for you, I got the best one, I am satisfied." Nobody eats while he is speaking. Then they divide the spoils, pack the game home, and have plenty that night. The corral is left standing.

Dave gave the following texts of speeches delivered by the Antelope chief to the game and hunters respectively:

(a)

kalo'kacu ai'yu, kehamo'moyum, kepi"cuk, kapa"cuk ma'yala. kalo'kacu'u, ma'yal keke'le, latamala"wa . . . kula'kta."

(Do not get scared, antelope, come easily, creep up, come right into your home. Don't be afraid. We made your home, listen to me . . . don't get scared of anybody.)

(b)

wa'diy kaya'tuka'u, kaya'tuk temeeui i'ke li'cul. wi'kin la"doc kime"kayaktok i'ke ke'au, t'aiyaau ga'mayeua. mi"le ke'wa temi'ku. gaya'cu a"ai. hak tikumeo"cie i'ke mikla a"caiya. kiki"ket a'yam k'o'leke tiya'mle. i'ke layalcye'u nake' akua.ite'u heliki ke'le wadiye'a"iyu. i'ke mi"ya, i'ke le'sic kutina'ua hat'a"aya untamale'u heliki le'sic.

(Now begin killing, kill the biggest buck, that give to me. That's all I tell you. Kill for yourselves, that have for your own meat. Guts, however, do not throw away, eat everything. Wash off the guts. Thus I dreamt, that I have told you all. This good thing that way I tell you. There is no one else who could tell you about this today. This is good for you. If I were dead, from no one else here you would be able to hear this, I think, if I were dead.)

* This last word is spoken when all the antelope get into the pen.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20



## IV. MATERIAL CULTURE

### Economic Life

433 Barrett has properly stressed the economic differences due to the contrast be-
184 tween a Sierra and a Basin habitat. The following fragmentary notes are cor-
114 roboratory and supplementary.

262 Acorns (ma'ləɣ) were associated with California, and even the Antelope
[171] Valley people did not live on them to any great degree. However, the Washo prepared a dish called mɑgi''gela by mixing acorns and venison.

222 Pine nuts (t'a''gəm) were gathered by men and women coöperatively, the
[462] husband knocking ripe ones off the trees with a big hooked pole and the wife
[413] gathering them. The women would pick them out, put them in a basket, and let
[251] them dry. When dried, the nuts could be kept for about a year; in the spring
[252] a pit was made for storage, in the winter they were taken out for consumption. The Washo made a pine-nut "soup," which was eaten with spoons. According
[415] to Bill, people went for pine nuts in September.

226 Along the Walker River the Washo constructed many "fish houses,"—a
[343] statement that extends their boundaries appreciably toward the east. Trout
[131] (a''t'abi) were speared with shafts about seven feet long. Fish were also taken
[501] by nets and clubbed to death. Sometimes fifteen were caught in a day. On Lake Tahoe, a group of Washo would go after fish in rafts (see below).

224 Antelope, deer (mendɩ''wi), and jack rabbits were hunted communally, the
[624] first-mentioned under the guidance of a dreamer (p. 324). Jack, possibly expressing a local difference, said that deer were hunted by only one or two
[756] men and only in the mountains. According to another statement, four or five hunters would mask themselves with deer heads in stalking the game. They would shake up dirt to determine the direction of the wind so as to forestall being scented, thus sneaking up to shooting range. A communal deer hunt was organized in September, when the deer were fat, but not every year. The leader, who did not derive his office from dreams, would say, "Get together, we'll try to kill a few deer." Then the men assembled on the day fixed, bringing their blankets since they were to camp out for about a week. Possibly as many as fifty Washo from Douglas County would travel afoot about thirty miles
[484] toward, say, twenty miles from McKinney, California. It took them two days, camping according to their leader's instructions. The next morning, he spoke to them. He remained in the middle, his followers dividing so as to form two arcs of a circle flanking him and finally connecting again. When they sighted deer, they killed up to ten or fifteen a day. The next day, they moved to another spot; and so on, for about a week, thus covering altogether many thousands
[482] of acres. At last they stopped and returned, carrying by means of tumplines loads almost too big for them. For deer no corrals were built.

624 The communal rabbit hunt was also purely secular. Barrett mentions a
224 hereditary chief for rabbit hunting[*] and all other coöperative hunting and fishing operations. "He it was who notified the people of the arrival of the

[*] *Op. cit.*, 12.

[P. 366, B]

## MYTHOLOGY

776 . Two distinct attitudes about these creatures are displayed by the Washo. Most informants openly admitted being afraid of Water Babies. If they heard one they remained in their houses or attempted to avoid contact. They claimed that if a person saw a Water Baby by accident, at the very least he would be struck unconscious and greater harm, in the form of sickness, might be inflicted on him or on one of his relatives. The general attitude was that Water Babies were best left alone because they were extremely powerful.

776 115 This attitude is perhaps summed up best by one of my informants, a rather sophisticated Washo who has lived in cities for long periods and who is an active leader in the tribe's legal battle with the federal government. He is also a devoted peyotist who often conducts curing ceremonies and is conceded to have a curing power. He said, "If they ever get up a bunch to trap one of them [Water Babies], I don't want to have nothing to do with it." When I asked why not, he replied: "Why hell, if you make one of them things mad they'll flood the world. I just don't want nothing to do with them. I ain't that desperate." I asked, "desperate for what?" and he replied "for power. I like to dream about wemoms [sic] and things like that, not about Water Babies and that funny stuff."

[795] [756] [787]

776 756 115 This last statement clearly indicates the other attitude about Water Babies; they are often guardian spirits of Washo who have special power, particularly shamanistic curing power. Another informant expressed this other attitude about these creatures. He is about seventy, attended Stewart Indian School for ten years and lived among the Hopi for ten years. He boasts a stone and cement-block house, the only such dwelling owned by a Washo. He has learned to bead baskets and during most of the year earns a reasonable income from this. His seeming adjustment to white culture is confounded when his philosophic position is examined. He can only be termed a mystic who interprets the world in Indian terms. Exposure to such influences as the writings of Kroeber and Huxley has only confirmed his essentially Indian viewpoint. Both his parents were famous Indian doctors and his maternal uncle, who was also his mentor,[1] was a famous shaman. My informant implied that his uncle's spirit (wegeleyol, from which his power was derived, was the Water Baby, and his own carefully guarded statement implied that the creature was potentially his own spirit. His view of the Water Baby was quite the reverse of other informants. "Some people think the Water Baby will hurt them, but he won't. If they see him by accident he won't do nothing. But if he has given you his power and you see him—then wham, he maybe knock you right down." This appears to have been his way of describing a seizure by the Water Baby, which although a fearful experience, usually resulted in the gift of additional power. There was, how-

[342] [177] [434] [177]

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[611] [1] This statement should not be considered as an indication of matrilineality in Washo society. Freed and d'Azevedo, who have done extensive work in kinship and social organization of this group, seemed to agree that the Washo were mildly bilateral with certain formalized patrilineal elements. However, because of fragile marriages, many Washo have had a longer and closer association with their mothers' families than with their fathers', or with those of any of their mothers' subsequent husbands.

[581]

[P. 367, A]

776 ever, general agreement among informants that the
756 Water Baby could, if he gave his power to a person,
115 demand repayment with the lives of his protégé's close relatives or entire family.[5]

The various powers and activities of the Water
776 Babies are perhaps best described in the following
539 stories recounted by informants:

1. "One time my Dad was sick. He called in two, three doctors and they said he had to give a
[782] basket to the Water Babies at Lake Ilmedel. There
[755] is an island in this lake and my Dad was supposed to go out to that island and leave a basket. I was too young then but he took my brother. They went up there and my Dad just started walking out to the lake and the water never got any deeper than there (pointing to his knees). He walked right on that water. He left that basket and came back and he got well. Them Water Babies helped him walk on the water. My brother saw it happen."

[778] 2. "There is this deep pool up in the mountains. There is a kind of black sucker live there but no Indians ever caught them because that was a Water Baby place and they was Water Baby food. Womens used to sit on a platform of logs and weave bas-
[782] kets there [special baskets for the Water Babies, apparently, such as the one used as offering in the story above]. One time I took another fella like you [anthropologist] up there but when we got there we couldn't find nothing but sand with a little water bubbling up in the middle. He wouldn't believe me. I showed him where them womens had sat but I think he thought I was lying. I guess them Water Babies did something."

3. "There is this women called Frances. She was up at Blue Lake with her husband following him along the edge of the lake. It was kind of dark. She saw them little footprints right on top of her husband's in the sand."

4. "I'll tell you what happened to me right in this house about two years ago. I was in bed in that room there and I felt these little hands creeping under the covers. I brushed 'em away but they just come back. They tried to feel me down here [indicating his genitalia]. I yelled for my mother and she come in and said something and something went zip (waving arm violently to indicate direction) right out of that window. We looked out that way [to the south], that's toward Walker Lake. Everything was kind of hazy blue."

[756] In light of Washo views about receiving shamanistic power, it would appear that my informant was suggesting that this visitation was a Water Baby making its patronage known.

776 5. "My old uncle had been doctoring up by Genoa.
787 He had a tough one and fallen in the fire and burned
539 all his pants off and was walking wearing his coat like a skirt. He got by Wally's Hot Springs when he felt like he wanted a bath. Them Water Babies must have been working on him. He went over by the creek and started to lean over and then he passed out and fell into the water and there was a Water Baby. That Water Baby said, 'come on,' and he took him down to Water Baby country. The chief of the

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[5] Kirchhoff reports that the payment for joining a coven of Savage strikes is often the life of a relative (1947, p. [illegible]).

[P.368, B]

973 Modern Washo seem less willing than their forebears to weave Coyote into tales but are no less conscious of his malevolent presence. Peyotists often see visions or dream of Coyote (d'Azevedo and Merriam
[795] 1957), and quick asides about Coyote's influence are
[787] apt to come up in conversation either as tentative
[521] jokes or in seriousness. One tale of a modern occurrence involving Coyote did come my way through the kindness of Warren d'Azevedo. His informant was the
539 brother-in-law of my own informant and, like his kinsman, a seminyutic, very conscious of his Indianness
[115] and credited by other Washo with powers beyond those
[756] of an ordinary man in hunting.

> "I was staying in this shack with the guy who owned it. One night he didn't come home but I kept hearing something walking around that shack. The next morning when that guy came home he was all tired out and there was Coyote tracks all around that shack. I got my gun and told that guy to stay away from me" (d'Azevedo).

773 The Ag, a huge man-eating bird described in Lowie's myth number 13, is no longer alive, but accord-
[776] ing to several informants the creature's bones or at least the island on which it nested can be seen by people flying over the lake because they are only a bit below the surface. Washo insist that white airplane pilots see the shape of the island daily but keep silent because they don't want to confirm an Indian story. One day on a trip around Lake Tahoe my Indian companion, a sometime leader among the Washo asked: "If we get that money from our claim do you think one of them archeologist fellas could go down under the water and find that there ag bird's skeleton?"

773 The foregoing paragraphs illustrate the tenacity
178 with which Washo mythology has maintained itself among these people. The entirety of many of the myths is no longer part of the repertoire of every adult Washo, but variations, on-the-spot reconstructions, and the introduction of mythological themes into contemporary stories of a secular nature are definitely part of the oral literature of the Washo.

It is interesting to note that some aspects of Washo mythology appear to have more viability than others. Thus the Water Baby remains an important and vital aspect of modern Washo life, as does the Coyote. The twin weasels have lost much of their appeal, as has the giant Hangawuiwu. The giants of the mountains are acknowledged to be alive today but are seldom referred to, whereas Coyote and Water Baby are almost always mentioned and spoken of as living entities even by the most progressive Washo.

771 Except for the making of offerings to nature, which
[782] may be defined as purely religious, other religious or
[182] ritual activities dealing with what we would call the supernatural are so integrated with other aspects of Washo life as to be almost inseparable. Thus in de-
[124] scribing the religious activities of the Washo I will proceed through various phases of their life, pointing out the ritual actions which are part of Washo behavior in specific situations.

[p. 369, A]

# CURING AND SHAMANISM

(2469-2541)

756 [192] The Washo word da'man'li' has a wide range of meanings which include almost all people with supernatural powers, including curers of several orders. The terms which they use when discussing the subject in English are somewhat more precise and will be used in this paper.

The Washo make a distinction between curers (2594-96) and Indian doctors. The latter, as will be shown, are true shamans whereas the former are somewhat less powerful. Curers appear to be women who have certain powers revealed to them in dreams. Such persons are usually members of what the Washo describe as a "doctor family." An informant described the activities of such a curer:

> "My mother was a curer. She just smoke and talk. You would meet her on the way to town mebbe and say 'I don't feel good' and she'd just sit down and smoke and talk [pray?] a little and then mebbe tell you what was wrong and what you should do.
>
> [755] "Along about the first war I got sick and couldn't make no water at all. My mother smoked and then spread ashes all over my belly and talked some and after that I passed a lot of blood and got better."[5]

Far more important than the curers, however, were the Indian doctors. Such men were never exclusive specialists and were apparently expected to share in the work of hunting and fishing with less gifted men. [177] With the introduction of money by the whites, shamans appear to have approached something like specialization, [436] charging fees of up to twenty dollars a session for their services.

Until the middle 1930's there were a number of shamans among the Washo (Stewart 1944). However, with the introduction of the peyote cult, which among the Washo is concerned with curing, the shaman was superseded. Today only a single Washo practices shamanistic curing. 756 Interestingly enough this man, now seventy-five, 115 was an informant of Lowie's in the 1920's, and at that time Lowie described him as a sophisticated young Washo, [871] somewhat mystic and with shamanistic ambitions (Lowie 1939).

This man, Henry Rupert, spent ten years in the Indian school at the Stewart Agency and after graduation worked for a number of years in a printing plant in Reno. When questioned about the old days he was a fair informant, seldom offering more information than was asked for and clearly enjoying the business of making a white man work for every scrap of information. He was also given to dropping subtle hints and waiting with stolid indifference to see if I had been alert. He did not deny his shamanistic practices but was less than willing to discuss them in detail.

[534] His equipment, he admitted (but refused to show me), consisted of a butterfly-cocoon rattle, an eagle-bone [237] whistle, and a feather headband. "I don't really do nothing but help nature," he said. When I replied that only some people know how to help nature he was

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[5] Regular Indian doctors were forbidden to treat members of their own families, a prohibition which appears not to have extended to a non-shamanistic curer.

[P. 369, B]

## CURING AND SHAMANISM

(2489-2541)

● 756 115 gratified and smiled. "Oh well, it's all psychological anyway," he answered, confirming Lowie's description of him as a sophisticate.

He is noted for his rather atypical practice of tending a garden, which consists mostly of fruit trees, and for his open liking for old-fashioned foods, which he collects, including fly grubs and locusts. I was not able to observe his curing procedures, but they were described to me by another informant, a seventy-five-year-old woman, considered one of the most progressive of the residents of Dresslerville.

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"I took my granddaughter to Rupert after the white doctors didn't do nothing for her. He don't doctor in the real old Indian way [a phrase I later learned meant that he did not hold a series of four one-night sessions but only a short ceremony]. He don't give you nothing, just sings and prays and talks over you for a while. He has a rattle and a whistle and a band on his head. After we went to him my granddaughter got well."

[178] [755]

Another informant, the man who was cured by his mother—curiously another graduate of the Stewart School and outwardly a progressive Indian—was a veritable fountain of shamanistic knowledge. His father and maternal uncle were both well-known shamans. Although he insisted that he had no particular power himself, other Indians generally claimed that he had certain hunting medicines which assisted him in taking game. There is little doubt that he believed he had been approached by spirits offering him shamanistic power. His life story was a long recital of ailments and mystic occurrences. The ailments, coupled with his attitude about spiritual power, suggested strongly that his suffering had been due to a rejection of the power offered (Whiting 1950). He supplied the following account about the process of becoming a shaman.

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"Young fellows sometimes have dreams but usually they don't pay no attention to them. But when you get older and keep having dreams you begin to pay attention. Maybe you see a bear or a rattlesnake or Water Baby or anything. It tell you that you are going to be a doctor. The next morning you go out and bathe and pray. This thing keeps coming [in your dreams]. It may take any form, a skeleton or an animal but you know it's always the same thing as the first time, just taking different shapes.

"These dreams keep coming for four, sometimes eight, years to get you to be a good doctor. But during all this time you don't get no song. But they do give you your water. It tells you some certain place up in the mountains where there is a spring. You mebbe think there isn't no spring there, but there is. Then it tells you where to gather tobacco. Later it will tell you to make a rattle out of cocoon. Mebbe at first you only make a rattle with one cocoon. Later it says for you to add more. Finally it will give you a song. You dream this song. But you don't really remember it. You just begin singing it like you had known it all the time. For a while you may get a new song every year. Sometime you have

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a dream that tells you how to handle your paraphernalia. Sometime a dream tells you that you have to be all alone in your house. I don't know what happens in there but some of them doctors, I think, go over to visit the dead for a little while.

"After you been dreaming for a long time maybe you try to cure somebody but you don't ask for nothing. You never tell them dreams or what your spirit is but other doctors, they know. If your dreams are right you can cure people and then you can ask for something [payment]. The real Indian way was to doctor for four nights. Then he'd lay out all his stuff and give it a drink by sprinkling water on it. Then he'd shake his rattle and sing and touch the patient with his hands. He'd talk to the sickness, like he knew it . . . like maybe he was friends to it . . . he'd say 'now you behave and don't bother this person no more. If you don't behave I'm gonna take you out and show you to everybody and then you'll be embarrassed!' Then he'd suck at the patient (some of these young doctors suck on a stick with a feather on it that they pointed at the sick person, but the old ones didn't do that), and get out the sickness, it would be a feather or a stone. Sometime that sickness come out and go into the doctor so hard they can't get it out and have to get another doctor to help him. Sometimes it hit them so hard that they defecate. I seen them doctors just fill their pants. If it's real tough they get all stiff and fall over. Sometimes fall right in the fire and their clothes all burn off but it don't burn them none. You can't touch them then or it will kill them. But when they begin to shake a little and that rattle begins to go then you can pick them up. If he can, the doctor will vomit out the sickness. When it's out he puts it in his hand and rubs it with dirt and throws it away toward the north; that kills it."

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This recital of the process of becoming a doctor shows clearly the ideal situation, the receiving of powers, unsought, from supernatural sources, the guardian spirit watching over its protégé's career, providing him with the wherewithal in the form of songs, spells, and paraphernalia. In fact, however, it would appear that the process of becoming a shaman was far more a conscious and voluntary act on the part of an individual than would be supposed from the foregoing story.

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Doctoring power clearly seems to have remained within certain families. The informant who gave the foregoing account was himself the son of a woman curer and a famous doctor and the nephew of another doctor. From his childhood he was familiar with the procedures of curing, with stories about dreams, spirit visitations, trips to the afterworld, mysterious and sacred locations. He somewhat proudly admitted that as a boy he "used to shake that rattle" himself. In short, until his shamanistic education was interrupted by white man's schooling, he was a shaman's apprentice.

This view is supported by the statements of other informants: "Of course them people that is from a doctor family, they have dreams and get curing power," said one rather assimilated woman of about seventy-five. Another informant, a man of sixty, who repeatedly indicated his fear of "power" but at the same time was reputed to be an important curer in the peyote church said: "If you come from a family of dreamers there ain't nothing you can do. You're trapped by it."

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Young shamans appear to have undergone a period

[P. 370, B]

● 758 of informal apprenticeship under an older doctor. Although there appears to have been no special requirement that a shaman have an assistant, it was not uncommon for a younger man to help out. According to one informant, when Blind Mike, one of the well-known doctors in historic times, was becoming a doctor, his teacher required him to smoke four hand-rolled cigarettes in a row without allowing the smoke to escape [276] from his lungs. This was not considered an exercise in legerdemain but a way to develop the younger man's control over his power.

Each doctor received instruction from his spirit familiar as to what paraphernalia he should gather but there was a great deal of uniformity in the outfits of [177] Washo doctors. The following description is of the kit of my informant's uncle, who practiced until the first decade of this century, and it includes some items clearly postwhite in origin.

> "I don't know what all doctors had but I'll tell you what my old uncle had 'cause I seen it lots of times. [At this point another Indian entered the house, obviously curious, and my informant stopped talking until the visitor left.] He had eagle feathers and magpie feathers. He had a rattle with six or eight cocoons on a stick wrapped in weasel skin and humming bird feathers. He had a tobacco pouch of tree-squirrel hide. He also had a stone. It looked like a big tooth with a cavity in it. He told me how he got that stone. He was walking to town [Genoa, Nevada] one day and he heard something whistle. He kept on walking but it whistled again. So he went looking for what was making that noise and he found that stone setting by a fence post. I heard that stone whistle sometimes when he was doctoring. He also had a tie made out of beadwork. Lots of times a doctor would pay some woman to make him a real fine basket or some bead work because that's what his power told him to do."

Washo doctors often worked together on "tough" cases. One such was the treatment of what seems to have been an infected elbow by my informant's uncle and Blind Mike. The first step in the process was to blow smoke in a circle around the painful area so that the sickness [755] couldn't move. This was followed by singing, rattling, and sucking until something bright began to come out. It was, according to witnesses, as bright as a star, so bright in fact that even Blind Mike could see it. The bright object proved to be (if we can trust descriptions) the stone and setting of a cheap ring which was removed from the sore arm. It is interesting to note that while this process was successful my informant seemed to consider the cure less than one-hundred-per-cent effective because the woman who was being treated died two years later.

778 Doctors were privy to a number of secrets which
756 were not common knowledge among most Washo. Such
[424] a secret was the cave reputed to be inside Cave Rock at Lake Tahoe. This cave was a retreat for shamans who went there to commune with their spirits or to secrete a particularly important piece of paraphernalia. The cave could be entered through a narrow opening on the landward side, but most shamans preferred a more dramatic entrance. By standing on a certain rock and singing a special song they were lowered through the water and then lifted into the cave. The last doc- [787] tor to attempt this was Blind Mike. He was directed to go to the cave in a dream. However, he permitted

756 his wife to accompany him and when she saw him be-
778 gin to sink into the water she screamed with fear. The rock stopped sinking with Mike only knee deep in the water. Since that time no one has attempted to enter the room. This promontory is the center of Water Baby habitation and is reported to be the upper end of a tunnel which extends under the mountains to Genoa so that Water Babies can move freely from the lake to the valley. The rock also marks the eastern end of a road of white sand reported to cross the lake bottom. On the northwest end of the road was located a bed of plants, probably wild parsnips, which
[278] doctors gathered for medicine. The wild parsnip was poisonous but doctors ate it to demonstrate their pow-
[752] er. They also chewed it into a paste and spread it on rattlesnake bites.

Another spot familiar to doctors was a mysterious hole in the mountains near Blue Lake. The hole could be located by following a spiraling path of white quartz toward the center. According to the Washo tale, if a man dropped even as much as a hair into this hole it made a great roaring sound. Suzie Dick, a Washo woman, whose claim of being one hundred years' old is borne out by white residents, insists that as a fifteen-year-old girl she went to see this hole and was terrorized by a huge hand which reached up out of the darkness and tried to seize her.

[412] Vaguely known to most Washo but familiar to doctors was a cave situated south and west of Gardnerville where ready-made grinding stones were to be found. These, depending on the informant, were made by old Indians or were put there by "nature" for the use of the Washo.

## NONCURATIVE USE OF POWER

(2567-2593)

756 Indian doctors often used their power in spectacu-
789 lar displays, apparently to impress patients. Often these displays were competitive.

In the words of one informant: "Them old doctors used to see who had the most power. They'd stick four or five sticks in the ground, each one farther away than the last one, and see how many they could knock down." Then, disconcertingly, he added: "You can read about that in Kroeber. He tells about some other Indians who did that but I guess he didn't know the
[114] Washo did it too." This informant considered Professor Kroeber as an authority second only to himself in matters pertaining to Indians.

## DIVINING AND RAINMAKING

(2553-2556, 2566)

821 There were no doctors with rainmaking power among
791 the Washo. However, anyone, particularly a man deemed to be a leader, might encourage rain during the sum-
789 mer. The rite, which is still observed occasionally by individuals, consists of soaking a pine-nut cone in water
[756] and placing it on the ground in the pine-nut hills. Modern Washo look upon this more as a prayer, but in the past it may have been considered as a spell.

The ancient matriarch Suzie Dick steadfastly insists that less rain falls in the Carson Valley than in neighboring valleys because "nobody is talking to God anymore around here." While she talked she pointed to the clouds hanging over Washo and Antelope valleys and to

791 the cloudless sky overhead.

789 Older white residents speak of Indian rainmakers, which is a source of much amusement among the Washo. 821 Until a few years ago an Indian, who still lives in Dresslerville, used to take advantage of the gullibility [648] or generosity of white ranchers by performing "rain dances" on their property in return for handouts of food. The Washo generally frowned on this, but because white men were the victims of the fraud it was considered harmless.

The father of the false rainmaker was a diviner of stolen articles. His method was to sit and smoke until the location of the desired article was revealed to him.

## OBJECTS OF POWER

237 Eagle and magpie feathers were considered to be 778 the most powerful items of a shaman's paraphernalia. Doctors are reported to have captured eagles and even [231] to have tried to raise them to obtain feathers (223-231) [437] The tail feathers were the most prized. Eagle feathers were extremely valuable and could be traded for anything including "a woman or a sack of pine-nut flour or anything worth a lot." Ideally the eagle was tied up until the shaman removed three tail feathers. The doctor then tied a string of beads to the bird's leg and released it as a messenger to the spirits. Description of eagle-down costumes suggest that birds were stripped [231] of many more feathers than the ideal three. In historic times individuals have attempted to contain eagles. One old man in Woodfords is well known for having kept them on cradle-boards for easy transport, but such experiments usually ended in failure. Magpie feathers were considered less powerful than eagle feathers but still were highly prized. Today they are gathered by chance—taken from dead birds on the highway or picked up where they were shed.

237 In the past, eagle and magpie feathers were impor- 291 tant parts of the dress of warriors. Magpie feathers 778 were used to make a feather cap with a single feather suspended from the top. Informants recall their elders' describing eagle feathers' being suspended individually from the upper arms and thighs of particularly powerful warriors.

795 Modern peyotists have lost none of the traditional 237 Washo feeling about these feathers. The ceremonial 778 fans of road chiefs, believed the only persons capable of handling the immense power, are made of eagle feathers. Other peyotists favor the less powerful but nonetheless potent magpie feather (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957).

778 Tobacco, as the foregoing accounts illustrate, played 276 an important part in Washo shamanism. It appears to have been used as an offering to the spirits. In addi- [756] tion it is clear that it was felt to have special power of its own. Today older men smoke sparingly and are [782] often somewhat embarrassed to be offered a cigarette casually during conversation. In prewhite times the tobacco was a native variety gathered and dried by the shaman. Today Bull Durham appears to have replaced the wild variety as "Indian" tobacco. The Indians seemed delighted to see me rolling a cigarette; they acted as [795] if I were mastering what they felt was a particularly Indian art. Bull Durham is also important in peyote ceremonialism because it is "real Indian tobacco."

824 Incense cedar plays an important role in modern 795 peyote meetings. It is dried and thrown into the fire 778 to create a fragment smoke which is considered bene-

[P.372, A]

824 795 778 ficial. Meeting officials fan it into the atmosphere and "rub" themselves in the smoke to obtain power or purification. This has a connection with traditional Washo ritual, but the relationship is unclear and the aboriginal practices obscure. One group of Washo, which was assigned a special place in the large camp circle formed during the pine-nut dances held at Double Springs Flats in the late nineteenth century, is said to have special rights in connection with cutting cedar. Modern informants do not have a clear picture of what the rights were or what the customs surrounding cedar were. One informant did say that if the cedar "bunch" found anyone else with cedar they would say "you aren't supposed to have that" and would make fun of them. She could offer no further details or explanations.

## SORCERY AND WITCHCRAFT
(2562-2564)

754 756 778 [172] There is no real distinction in the Washo mind between a doctor and a sorcerer or witch. Particularly powerful doctors were able to kill their enemies. One of the most feared bits of paraphernalia was an obsidian point found by a doctor. These large points were not made by Washo and are apparently remnants of some previous cultural occupation in the area. If a Washo finds one point up he carefully knocks it over with a long stick before touching it. These points are called mankillers, but I was unable to learn exactly how they were used. They are still viewed with a certain amount of awe, and the finding of a large point in a sandpit in Smith Valley was known in Woodfords, fifty miles away.

754 [484] [361] [172] Sorcery was used to explain the abandonment of an ancient campsite at Dangberg's Hot Springs. This site is a trove of grinding stones, points, and other Washo artifacts. Formerly there were numerous skeletons in the area, according to both Indian and white informants. However, the site has not been occupied in historic times because of the following incident.

[539] "One winter there was a lot of Washos camped around the hot springs. My old aunt was camped there. There was this northern Washo [from Sierra Valley] came into the camp. Nobody know'd him and nobody would feed him. But my old aunt fed him. But he was mad at them people so he went to Markleville and made a lot of medicine. [Why he went to Markleville is unclear. This is the site of another hot springs, a fact which may figure in the magic used.] After he made medicine for a while he kind of spit on his fingers and pointed at Dangberg Hot Springs. Right where he pointed all the grass got brown; you can still see that line of brown if you know where to look, and a lot of Indians died. Nobody ever went back there. My old aunt she didn't die."

[731] Only one Washo disputed this story. She, a very progressive old woman and sometime Christian, attributed the deaths to an epidemic and "didn't think" the doctor was responsible.

754 Witchcraft and sorcery among the present-day Washo is a difficult subject to investigate. Even among themselves it is treated with extreme indirection and veiled hints. In discussing the problem with d'Azevedo I found that we were in agreement that a number of

754 killings reported among these people could probably be attributed to revenge for, or prevention of, antisocial use of power.

One woman, now dead, was described as probably a witch. The wife of the diviner mentioned earlier was considered a powerful and dangerous woman. She was [527] useful to the community because she knew prayers and songs for the pine-nut celebration, but dangerous, particularly if she met you at night. One informant describes the attitude of the rest of the community toward her.

> "She used to come around at night and knock on your door and say she was lost. She came here one night and pounded on the door with her cane but we wouldn't let her in. After she went away my husband [789] rolled up a newspaper and set it on fire and ran it along the inside of the door where she had knocked. I don't know why he did that except we was afraid of her."

Stewart also reports this attitude toward the same woman (1941, p. 444; 2562).

The woman who told me this story is herself under the shadow of indictment for witchcraft. Curiously enough the same phrase, "I am afraid of her," serves as an accusation. She and her sister-in-law quarreled [607] over the disposal of her husband's body two years ago. Since that time they have not spoken, and the sister-in-law has been proclaiming her fear.

## WAR POWER

721 The Washo have not engaged in real hostilities with the Miwok or Maidu for well over a century and Paiute hostilities appear to have taken the form of occasional defensive skirmishes; thus the details of war magic are vague. However, Washo tradition repeatedly men- [754] tions a month-long period during which doctors gathered and made medicine against the enemy before [344] launching a campaign. Usually this took place at Woodfords, which was the site of a large earth lodge dance [177] house copied after Miwok structures and described as "where the young mens learned them Miwok dances." [535] (A second dance house is known to have existed in Sierra Valley; attributed to the Maidu, it fell into disuse after the death of its owner.)

## SUMMARY OF SHAMANISM

756 182 Although there appears to be only a single practicing shaman among the Washo today (and he certainly not a practitioner of the old school), it would be a mistake, in my opinion, to claim that Washo shamanism is a thing of the past. Few, if any, Washo over forty have not attended a shamanistic curing ceremony and many have been patients. Even those Indians who have rejected shamanism as old fashioned—or in deference to white attitudes—give one the impression of "protesting too much" in their denial of old beliefs. The woman who took her granddaughter to Rupert, the [177] curer, is among the most progressive of the Washo. She is a nominal Christian, active in an informal way as a representative of her people before white authority, and is most apt to deny supernatural explanations of historic incidents. Nonetheless she has faith in the power of this modern shaman and in the cures reported for the old-time shamans.

[P.373, A]

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One factor in the decline of the shaman as a principal in curative activities was the rise of the peyote cult in the mid-1930's (Stewart 1944). The cult was introduced by a Paiute who gathered a number of Washo followers. His cult or "way" has since been superseded by a strictly Washo group, following the Teepee Way (d'Azevedo 1957). The Teepee Way is an illustration of the effect an ethnographer can have on the lives of his subjects. A casual remark by an ethnographer that the peyote ceremonies carried out by the Paiute leader were not like those he had seen elsewhere motivated a Washo to drive to Idaho to find out for himself. This trip resulted in the formation of the new cult and the near dissolution of the group headed by the Paiute. Washo peyotism has incorporated much of the curing emphasis of Washo shamanism and much of the symbolism as well. The peyote button is reminiscent of the poison parsnip taken by old-time doctors (d'Azevedo 1957). The powerful eagle feather is reserved for the use of road chiefs just as it was the special symbol of the shaman or powerful warrior. The fans carried by most peyotists are often composed of magpie feathers. Curative peyote meetings are often conducted by a special chief, reputed to have very potent curing powers, who does not conduct the regular peyote meeting. Even in regular meetings one of the main emphases is on curing ailments of both the body and spirit.

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Led by an assimilated Washo, known by other Indians as a "white man's Indian," the shamans brought suit against the peyotists urging they be arrested and their meetings banned. They charged, among other things, that peyote meetings were occasions of sexual license. Such open accusations and the bringing of white men into a strictly Indian matter created a great deal of antagonism toward the shamans among the Washo, whether or not they were committed to peyote.

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Peyote curing differs only in detail from shamanistic curing as these two stories may illustrate.

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"Had these gallstones and them white doctors operated and they got a lotta little stones but pretty soon it was back. So I decided to pray. You know whenever an Indian wants to pray the first thing he turns to is water and tobacco. So every night when I went to the john [toilet] I'd roll a cigarette and pray to that Peyote. I'd say, 'I don't want to be sick so you got to help them white doctors. You got to get all those little stones together in one place.' That Peyote is a good medicine. I used to go to meetings and it helped me before. So every night I prayed to the Peyote to get them stones in one place. Then I went to the hospital and they operated and got out the biggest gallstone they ever saw. It would hardly go in a fruit jar. I told that Peyote that the job was too big for it all alone that it should just help them white doctors and get all them stones in one place."

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Another informant, mentioned earlier as a peyote chief with special curing power, recounts the events leading up to the death of his former wife of cancer of the kidneys.

[P. 373, B]

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"Yeah I had a couple of meetings for Onie. I helped her too. Except she would not do the things I told her to do. I made that cancer move around from her back where it hurt a lot. I got it around in front where it didn't hurt her so much. But she wouldn't keep doing the things I told her to do."

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These two incidents reveal traditional attitudes transferred into a new framework of curing. In the first place, illness is a corporeal object which can be manipulated—moved and (if one's power is sufficient) removed. Secondly, peyote is viewed as a manifestation of a spiritual power. The informant with gallstones did not attend meetings to have his ailment cured; rather, he used water and tobacco, traditional adjuncts to shamanistic curing. Moreover he did not take peyote for his illness; he simply prayed to Peyote in a manner very similar to praying to a spirit guardian for assistance.

Other shadows of the shamanistic past seem to lie heavily on the minds of modern Washo peyotists. In his discussion of peyotism, d'Azevedo (1957, pp. 624-626) describes in some detail the attitudes about the assistance or interference that one peyote singer or drummer may receive from another. The statements of his informants, although couched in different terms, are reminiscent of many I heard dealing with competitions between shamans.

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For several years peyotists were a powerful factor in the tribal council, and they were not loath to play upon the connection between peyote and poison parsnips in the minds of their cotribalists. The peyote button is considered to be a powerful agent and as such potentially dangerous. Therefore a man who could deal with this agent, just like a shaman who could eat the poison parsnip with impunity, was a man to be listened to and followed.

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Despite a belief in and a dependence on shamanistic curing or its latter-day counterpart, the peyote curing session, most Washo are willing patients of white doctors. This suggests that perhaps the old views are disappearing under the scientific certainty of Western medicine. Quite the reverse seems true, however. Every failure of white medicine strengthens the Indians' belief that the real source of curing power is a gift from nature. Every success is attributed to assistance the white men have received from Indians' power. When asked the direct question: "Why aren't there so many Indian doctors today?" my informant answered: "Well, Indians just don't need all that power today. The white doctors know a lot of things and can cure sickness pretty good. In the old days we didn't know them things so we had to have them real powers." This attitude, that nature provided whatever was necessary for Washo survival, crops up in other contexts which I will discuss later in this paper. Far from disappearing, the old notions seem to be maintaining a strong hold on the minds of the Washo. As the number of active peyotists dwindle (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957), one gets the impression that the shamanistic forms may again become a more important part of Washo life.

[P.374, A]

# DREAMS AND DREAMERS

(2566)

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Mentioned almost as frequently as doctors are
[756] dreamers, whom the Washo view as distinct from shamans. The so-called antelope shaman and rabbit
[624] boss fall into this category rather than that of doctor.

Dreamers were gifted with a power to foretell special classes of events in dreams. All Washo believe
[828] dreams are likely to foretell the future, and they are alert to find meanings in any dreams they have. Certain persons, those thought of as "dreamers," are reported to have special gifts of this nature.

There are apparently no dreamers among the Washo today, in the sense that the term was used in times past. That is, no one is especially singled out as having infallible dreams foretelling certain classes of
[178] events. It may be that the breakdown of the band structure, which was related to economic exploitative activity, in effect, forced everyone to dream for himself. In
987 the past, dreamers were particularly important in set-
[756] ting the time and place for activities which were carried out by large groups, such as hunting, fishing, pine-nut gathering, and war. With the disappearance
[621] of the last seminomadic bands in the middle 1920's, as well as with the reduced importance of hunting and
[178] fishing as group activities, persons having dreams which directed group actions were no longer useful. Today, dreams appear to occur to a number of individuals, and those felt to be of social significance usually deal with catastrophe or other foreboding subjects. The following stories were told to me by the widow under the shadow of witchcraft. When I asked her if she thought any of her friends would tell me their dreams, she replied: "No I don't think no Washo would tell you their dreams. But I'm not superstitious about them things and I'll tell you these two dreams I had."

"One summer I was up at the Lake [Tahoe] with my husband and I had a dream that the gambling house at Dresslerville [a structure known officially as the com-
[539] munity center] was on fire. There was kids inside and they was screaming but there wasn't no water. I saw the men all around with buckets but they couldn't do nothing because there wasn't no water. I told my husband about the dream the next morning and he said I
[828] should take a bath and pray. That's what we do to keep a bad dream from happening."

The following winter the community center did in fact burn down. A young Indian in a rage after having an argument with his father hurled a bottle of kerosene against a wood stove. The resulting fire could not be extinguished because the Dresslerville pump was not working. Whether the dream was really a prophecy after the fact I do not know. It is significant in any case that the prophecy appeared in the form of a dream. My informant's second dream foretold the violent death of a young Indian woman. The prophecy came true two years later.

Her statement that other Washo would be reluctant to discuss their dreams was all too true, confirming the importance that dreams play in their daily lives. A number of tangential remarks suggest that the belief that dreams confer advance knowledge of the future and that

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# DREAMS AND DREAMERS

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787 they confer power is still common among the Washo. One informant said, in talking about "old-time dreamers": "Today a lot of people will say they had a dream about something, and act real big. I just tell them they are crazy. They aren't real dreamers. They couldn't have a dream about their girl friend."

[535] Until very recent times a dream was justification for almost any group activity. The most common motivation for such events as a pine-nut dance, a war party, or a rabbit or antelope drive was usually that "So-and-So had a dream." An announcement would be made and others would gather for the event.

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[756] These dreams are clearly different from the visitations of spirits to prospective shamans, which occurred repeatedly and were kept secret. Dreamers, on the other hand, publicly reported individual dreams. Being a dreamer appears to have been one of the important factors in attaining positions of leadership, informal as such positions were among the Washo. The almost legendary Captain Jim,[4] who was acknowledged as a leader by all the Washo in the late nineteenth century, is considered to have been a dreamer by many of the Washo. Those informants who remember the big times at Double Springs Flat, in which a large number of the Washo of the day participated prior to the pine-nut harvest, usually begin their accounts with the statement that Jim would have a dream and announce the date of the meeting. Various parts of the ceremony were also validated by dreams. It is equally clear that although Jim was an honored leader and had dreaming power he was not considered a doctor.

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Negative testimony also indicates the importance of dreaming in Washo life. It is to the advantage of certain individuals to deny the "chieftainship" of Captain Jim: they vehemently deny that he was a dreamer but insist that he was simply a good man who was trusted by the Washo. "That Jim was just a good old guy that everybody obeyed because they liked him and the whole group selected him. He wasn't no more of a dreamer than I am," is the way one claimant for the Washo chieftainship put it. However, his own claim was based on his relationship to a man who was a rabbit boss and who dreamed when it was time to hunt rabbits.

787 178 Clearly the Washo believed and still believe that dreams make one privy to the future and provide important insights on which one can base decisions. The specific uses to which dreams can be put change with the situation. Antelope dreaming is no longer important because there are no antelope. Rabbit dreamers no longer exist because the rabbit drive has lost much of its importance in Washo life. Conversely, dreams dealing with modern problems appear to be taken seriously.

[224]

787 825 One informant often dreams of snakes and evidences a great fear of them. The Washo view this behavior as a rational response to a real warning and consider the man's caution as good judgment in the face of repeated warnings.

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[4]Captain Jim is the only Washo whom the Washo generally accept as having been a leader of the entire tribe. Other claimants to the title of chief of the Washo are contemptuously discounted. There were in the past a number of men, usually considered leaders of a "bunch" who were called "captains" or, less often, "chiefs" because they dealt with the white population. The entire institution of captain may well be a post-white development.

[P. 378, B] When the husband of one of my informants died,

764 768 178 following a twelve-year illness spent in a secondary house, she went to visit a daughter living near Lake Tahoe. When she returned to Dresslerville her two sons had torn down the shed and disposed of all their father's possessions. In deference to their mother's rather modern views about funerals, nothing had been placed in the casket.

768 While I was in Dresslerville an Indian of about forty put the torch to the house in which his mother and father had lived. The house had been unoccupied since their deaths. While the house burned no effort was made to extinguish the fire or to call the fire department. A nearby rancher saw the fire and summoned the fire department, but the Indians refused to tell the firemen how the fire had started. The local newspaper reported it had been burned to drive away evil spirits. This upset my informants, one of whom said that the sight of the house simply made the man sad. She elaborated that the Washo felt they were helping God wipe out the tracks of a dead person. The Washo claim that after a death there is always a rain or sand storm which wipes out the tracks of the deceased.

[776] [775] [821]

764 515 783 After the Washo return home from a funeral, they immediately wash their faces and hands. They would not feel safe in handling food or children until this ritual had been carried out.

775 The behavior of the dead is a matter of concern for most Washo (2606-2609a). Ideally, the spirit is supposed to go up and to the south where dead Indians are. This land of the dead is guarded by a number of men with bows. Some shamans were able to make the trip to the land of the dead (2541-2544). If they could elude these guards, they were sometimes able to recover the spirit of a recently dead person and return it. If, however, the spirit has partaken of the water of a spring immediately behind the guards, it can never be recovered. The by-now-familiar uncle of my informant once visited the land of the dead and reported that there were lots of Indians there playing games and having a good time. If murder victims were present they were with the celebrants, but the spirits of the killers were segregated and were not having a good time.

[756] [787]

Ghosts, however, wander over the land. They are generally malevolent. If they feel they have been badly used in life, or are not properly honored after death, or have not been given the things they wanted when buried, they may wreak vengeance on the living. To prevent this, homes were abandoned, prayers were said, and names of the dead were not used. In discussing a recent murder, one of the most progressive of the Washo was extremely reluctant to give the name of the victim, and, when she finally did, she whispered it. One of the difficulties encountered by government agents when pine-nut lands were allotted to the Washo was a refusal to name the ancestors on whom the allotment claim was based.

[768] [782] [551] [648] [551]

Ghosts are often said to come in the form of whirlwinds or dust devils, and most Washo will avoid looking at a whirlwind. At night, a sudden puff of warm air is thought to be a ghost passing nearby.

[821]

[P. 381, A]

224 [539] I've heard that they cook it and eat it . . . not only here but up north. After they get the rifle they get to killing bears around here but hardly ever hear of dividing up the bear meat."

This last remark appears to be significant as all informants emphasized that Indians shared food equally. Thus a statement made voluntarily that bear meat was not shared suggests different attitudes about bears. [825]

Another informant adds the detail that when the bear left his lair, the companions of the man who entered the den would block the entrance so the bear could not return. The first man to place an arrow in the animal could claim it and get the hide. This informant also added at this point: "It's funny that the fella who went inside was just an ordinary fella [emphasis mine]." He also insisted that after a bear was killed the hunting party painted their faces black. Other informants claimed not to know of this or said such painting was done when a mink was killed but they did not know why. [302]

One traditional story (Dangberg) sheds a bit more light on the bear. In this tale a group of Washo were camped near a band of Paiute who challenged the Washo to fight. Instead of fighting, the Washo drove a bear from its den and killed it and thus defeated the Paiute. [539] [648]

I had all but given up the pursuit of information on the bear, being convinced that my informants either honestly did not know any more (the bear having been relatively rare in this area for a good many years) or were unwilling to discuss something of an extremely sacred nature, when a chance remark suggested at least part of the explanation. [124]

A pioneer white resident who had lived in Alpine County, California, for ninety years casually mentioned that every Indian man who was buried during his boyhood was wrapped in a bearskin shroud. This, coupled with an earlier mention of "rough" men having bearskins, suggests that the killing of a bear represented the ultimate in Washo bravery and the possession of the skin conferred extra powers on the owner. The rifle made such acquisitions much less hazardous and in the late nineteenth century it had become common for Indians to own a bearskin cloak, which became their most prized possession and was buried with them. 224 554 [764] [789] [764]

Stewart's element lists show no evidence of any formalized bear cult among the Washo. However, Smith's notes, which Stewart used, report a bear shaman who impersonated a bear (2558). Certainly the bear was one of the spirits who could give power to a man destined to become a shaman. Bear shamanism is reported only for the Fish Spring Valley Paiute by Steward and for the Tugu and Wada Northern Paiute by Stewart. These three groups constitute the only ones having formalized bear ceremonialism of any sort in the Basin. The bear dance and a note about impersonating bears (Steward 1941, pp. 288, 322) suggest that formalized bear ceremonialism came into the Basin from the Rocky Mountains via the Ute and Bannock. However, Kroeber reports awe of the bear, special euphemisms for them, and ritualized secrecy about hunting them among the Miwok which seem more closely related to Washo behavior. Bear impersonators among the Battle Mountain Paiute were credited with invulnerability in war, which is reminiscent of the use of a bear-hide cloak by Washo "rough men." Although it is not possible to make any conclusive statement about the role of the bear in the supernatural life of 796 825 171 114 [795] [756] [177] 825 771

[P.382, B]

222 527 787 791 [211] "This prayer[11] fella [Captain Jim] lived at Double Springs all year round. He would have a dream telling him when to have a meeting. He was what you would call a religious man. He would get someone he could trust and send out a long, tanned string of hide with knots in it. For every day until the meeting there was a knot and every day the messenger untied a knot so the people would know how many days they had until the meeting.

"All the men came and hunted for four days, and the women would start gathering pine nut. They would hang up the game to let it dry.

"The prayer wouldn't eat meat during these four days but he could drink cold water, and some lady would cook him pine nut.

"Every night they would have a dance. On the fourth day everybody would bring the food they had and put it in front of the prayer, and then he would pick some man who was fair [just] and the food was divided a little before sunrise. If you have a small family you get less, if you have a big family you get more."[12]

[782] "Then the prayer makes a prayer something like this: 'Our father I dream that we must take a bath and then paint. Even the children . . . [we must] wash away the bad habits so we won't get sick from the food we have in front of us!'

"Then everybody go to the river . . . no matter if there was a little ice on the water, and take a bath. If they was not near the river they bathed the kids from baskets at Double Springs. The prayer he prayed for pine nut, rabbit, and deer."

222 527 791 Susie Dick, an ancient Washo woman who claims to have reached the century mark in 1950, recalls that Captain Jim was her mother's sister's son and that she called him brother. He was a big man in a figurative if not a literal sense. He wore eagle feathers on his head and arms. He had red trousers made out of a blanket with feathers on the sides of the legs. As she remembers him at these ceremonies: "He would scare you to death." The assembled Washo brought pine nuts, deer meat, mugal [Indian tea], and much other food. Captain Jim prayed and gave a sermon, urging everyone to drink water and avoid liquor, and supervised four nights of dancing.

222 527 114 Judging from the age of these two informants, these meetings, which they claim were attended by all the Washo, were held between 1890 and 1900. Most Washo agree that these large meetings were the way "they did it in the old days." However, "the old days" appear not to be aboriginal but the late nineteenth century, when the Washo experienced a brief period of [illegible] and prosperity.

● [756] Rupert, the psychologically oriented shaman comments, "Hell, them northern Washo didn't come down to Double Springs very much. They get their pine nuts southeast of Reno. Captain Jim he was only a big man to them Carson Valley Washo. He didn't have nothing to say to the northern bunch."

222 527 Despite this, it seems clear that during the last part of the nineteenth century large numbers of Washo from the various areas did, in fact, gather at Double

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[11]Used in an adjectival sense. In the references below prayer is used nominally.

[124] [12]No matter how reluctant aged Washo may have been to discuss other aspects of the past, they became eloquent about any occasion on which food was plentiful. They describe in minute detail the kinds and amount of food at a feast although they cannot remember the time, place, or those present.

222 Springs prior to the pine cutting. It seems equally
527 clear that this was distinctly a postwhite phenomenon
[178] and that in aboriginal times such gatherings were much smaller.

The essential elements of these pine-nut ceremonies
[791] are clear. There was a gathering of a number of bands, usually at the prompting of a dreamer who knew certain prayers and songs which would insure a successful harvest. There was a sharing of food among the celebrants, as well as dancing and ceremonial bathing. Such affairs were held in Sierra Valley and at Double Springs and probably at a number of other places in the pine-nut hills.

668 The large celebrations at Double Springs appear to
222 have taken on a distinctly nativistic or revitalistic
527 cast. Informants remember Captain Jim's exhortations
791 to abstain from white man's whiskey, to treat each
622 other as brothers and sisters, to eat Indian food, and to apply themselves to the business of hunting and gathering. He himself refused to wear new white clothing but accepted only used garments. It was during this period that Washo received individual pine-nut allotments based on their traditional picking grounds.

668 Mooney (1896), whose information on the Washo was
222 filtered through the Paiute, reports the Washo during
527 this period as a shattered remnant of a former society
114 eking out an existence in the dump heaps of white set-
178 tlements in Nevada. The fact that the Washo did not respond to the Ghost Dance seems in his mind to support his notions about the condition of the tribe. However, among older informants this period is invariably recalled as an almost golden age. Although the implications of movements such as the Ghost Dance were not clear in Mooney's time, it seems more than likely that the Washo failed to join the movement because they were not suffering the social and cultural dislocation of the Paiute, Plains tribes, or California Indians and, in fact, may have been undergoing a process of social unification under Captain Jim. This unification appears to have had its primary symbolization in the ritual activity which surrounded earlier ceremonies
[211] concerned with pine-nut harvesting. The use of a hide
[721] string to summon people to the meeting appears earlier as a war signal used by a threatened band to entreat other Washo (often not too successfully) to come
622 to their aid.
222 With the death of Captain Jim, the large gatherings
527 at Double Springs appear to have ceased. In the words
791 of one informant, "When he died all them things like the knotted string and that stuff died with him."

After his death the pine-nut dances continued to be
527 held in various places in Washo country—Sugar Loaf
222 Mountain, Genoa, and Sierra Valley being the most
754 frequently mentioned. Jim's daughter (or sister's daughter) who was married to the claimant Captain Pete and was the mother of the present claimant, Hank Pete, staged a number of dances around Genoa until her death. This action is of interest in view of the fact that she was considered a dangerous woman and a poisoner. It
[756] suggests that there was in fact no clear distinction between doctors and witches or sorcerers. Her knowledge of pine-nut prayers and songs made here essential in the

9. Fish hook of bone with fiber cord. 227
10. Tule boat and long wood pole. 501
11. Snares. 224
12. Traps (itpakmal¢t), especially the rockfall type for small rodents. [411]
13. Wooden club, for rabbits primarily.
14. Rabbit and fish net (diqush) of fiber cordage. [283]
15. Antelope drive fences (mugigush) and corral. [229]
16. Obsidian or cane blade knife (tagil).
17. Broken cobble chopper. 412

E. Food processing implements.
1. Bedrock mortar (lam) and stone pestle (bits¢k), see Plate III.
2. Metate (d¢mg¢) and mano (gamum).
3. Seed storage pits (damyeo) and mounds, particularly for pinenuts, Plate II, B illustrates a pinenut cache. 251 252
4. Roasting pit, Plate II, A shows pinenuts roasting.
5. Digging stick (dishu). 412
6. Hooked (beyugum) pinenut gathering pole (bih¢?). [413]
7. Sticks to lift hot cooking stones (golang) into the cooking basket.
8. Looped (baleo) or paddle (kaas) stirring stick used to remove stones from the cooking basket. 415
9. Skin and animal stomach bags (tash¢p). 412
10. Soaproot brush (itgumbeyut) or comb (itwega). 482
11. Carrying net.

F. Other manufactures.
1. Stone pipe (de¢k) used with a skin tobacco bag (bankush tash¢p). 276
2. Bone and willow whistles. 534
3. Coccoon rattle (diyu angal).
4. Shaman's kit. 756
5. Puberty ceremony staff of elderberry wood (ba du? cuhu?).
6. Ball of skin (mugishua) filled with sagebrush bark used in a football game. 481
7. Bat and rope used in a game.
8. Dice (boko?), counters, and small sticks used in hand games. See Plate V, C. 526 524
9. Top made of a stick and pine pitch.
10. Toy sling.
11. Buckskin calendar string with a knot to be untied each day until specific event begins (balogo). 241

For information on food, water, and medicines see pp. 20-21.

## Clothing and Ornamentation

Most of the year the Washo went barefoot and practically nude. A breech- 291
clout for the men and a front apron for the women was universal. Beyond that

302 [412] [881] [765] [824]

The hair was cut (gumgaowi) with a stone knife (tagil) and washed in plain water. The hair was always cut as the girl's puberty and when in mourning. Facial hair was pulled out with the fingers. A hairbrush (itwega) was made from the stiff dark brown root of the soaproot that was gathered west of the crest of the Sierras. This same brush was used in the seed pounding processes and then called an itgumbeyut.

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Feathers were worn for almost any special occasion, often with a headband (ih¢pbey¢gul). Women wore feathers on the back of their head usually, while men wore them anywhere in the hair or tied on to their elbows or knees. Any large feathers may be worn, but magpie and eagle were favored.

304 301 [756]

The ear lobe was often pierced by men and women with a wooden awl to receive an ear ornament which consisted of a bead or shell pendent on a string or a bone tube. More rarely, the nasal septum would be pierced by men, usually a shaman, to receive a bone pin.

301 [237]

Necklaces (uml¢suk), bracelets (m¢liuy¢k), and other jewelry were made from shell (madap), bone tubes, a red berry (d¢ell¢l¢gi d¢tki), animal claws, seeds, plant stems, rose buds (p¢sum¢li), and cedar knots. Shell beads (makau) or pendants were made from Olivella, Dentalium, Haliotis and local freshwater shellfish.

302 304 [531] [386]

The Washo used face and body paints as well as tattooing. Boys about nine and girls about fourteen or fifteen were often given decorative tattoos (mishu). The designs were the same for both sexes and consisted mainly of dots, lines, or circles. The pigment was a black soot (ts¢chit) mixed with grease. Roy James reported the use of acorn (malung) juice for tattooing. This was applied to the skin and scratched or pricked in with a sharp plant sticker from the buck brush plant (dau wati dama).

The process of pricking the ts¢chit into the skin was called balnasung. The operation would be repeated each day for two or three days. The tatooed spot would swell up a little, but not be particularly painful. Hank Pete's aunt put the letter "A" on his wrist so he would remember her.

302 [751] [177]

Face and body paints of red, yellow, black, and white were used by both men and women for social gatherings, a bad dream, in shamanistic practices, or to prevent the skin from darkening during the summer. None was put in the hair. Red was commonly put on women's faces as a rouge, but this may be a rather recent innovation.

302 386 [317]

The red ochre (sewasung) was gathered south of Dayton and south of Markleeville. It was found in a powder form, wetted, rolled into a stick,

The Washo built a covered fishing platform (ma?angal) out over a quiet pool in the river where a man would wait for fish to come to spear them. Two or three large poles were extended out over a river or all the way across a smaller stream. The poles may actually slant from the bank to the river bottom. It was important to have the poles either in or close to the water and not too high above the river. A small blind was constructed over the top and sides with cedar or other branches. Most of the floor was left open so the fisherman could spear down through open sections of his platform. The term ma?angal also refers to a brush blind used in hunting water fowl or a rock pile blind used to hunt woodchucks. 342 226 [223] [224]

The windbreak (gadu) (Plate V,E) was made in a semicircle about 8 to 10 feet across and 4 to 5 feet high of limbs placed in an arch covered with any convenient brush or limbs. Another type of windbreak was made by placing a large pole in the crotch of a tree and then leaning wood against the pole. Either of these windbreak could be used to drift the snow up away from the front of the galis dangal. 342

The distinction between a gadu and ta?a lay in their respective functions of breaking the wind or blowing sand and of shading from the sun. A Washo may refer to his gadu or anything that gives him shade as his ta?a, but a structure was made with the sole function of shading. This was made by placing four (or more) posts in the ground in the form of a rectangle, placing poles between the tops of the posts, and covering the roof with brush.

The Washo shaman borrowed heavily from the surrounding tribes for his ritual paraphernalia and activities. The shaman was the primary innovator and he knew the medicines and practices of other peoples better than the rest of the Washo. The Washo sweat house (itgumdosha, "it is for sweating" or tashmangal) is a good example of this. The Washo generally did not use sweat houses, but the Washo shaman did. Omer Stewart's (1939) informants described a gabled type of sweat house. Hank Pete told of a little rock sided sweat house that a shaman might use when he began to dream. James (1956, 36) reported the use of a sweat house similar to the one described by Pete to rid oneself of the "Indian smell" while hunting. 756 177 343 [787] [515]

Pete said that smooth flat rocks were piled up to about three feet in height in a small circle, the floor was dug down a little, and a fire built inside. It was just big enough for the fire and one person to lie down. A few limbs were placed across the top and the heat of the fire reflecting from the rock sides caused the person to sweat. The shaman would lie there and sweat, talk and pray, fast, and then take a bath in water. 343 515 [756]

In a similar line with the sweat house was the innovation of a dance house (loshmangal) built at Woodfords (ca. 50 yards east of the intersection of the Diamond Valley Road and California State Highway 4) by George Possuk and Molly Pete in 1893 where what people called the "war dance" 344 177

1/1 [see cat. 116, end plate V, following p. 74 — Analyst]

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There were no full time craft specialists in Washo society. Every household produced the major amount of its own food, clothing and shelter. There were some individuals who were better at making bows and arrows and other crafts who specialized to a degree.

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Particularly successful hunters became leaders of deer hunting parties. Leadership was somewhat specialized for rabbit drives, antelope drives, mud hen and duck drives, dances, pinenut gathering, and cooperative endeavors generally.

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The shaman came the closest to being a full time specialist since he spent much time at his trade. There was a great proliferation of specialization among shamans.

This specialization involved the source of particular supernatural abilities (wɨgaleyu), what songs or paraphernalia were used, and what curing or other services could be rendered. Some individuals were particularly expert at "charming" antelope in the antelope drives. Others had the ability from the rattlesnake spirit to cure snake bites. In addition, there were herbalists and midwives who practiced without shamanistic ritual.

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a new area. In effect the net owner would receive a number of rabbits in proportion to the length of his net because he and his household would collect the rabbits that came into his net, a section of the combined nets. The drivers would receive only those rabbits they killed before they reached the nets, but the drivers usually belonged to a household that had a net. These drives are reported to have brought in thousands of rabbits. 224 433

Antelope drives were organized by a shaman leader who received more of the meat than the drivers because of his special service in charming the animals. Drives for ducklings and mud hens sometimes involved two or three households and the catch was always divided equally. Duckling drives are apparently the only times when tule boats were used. Washoe Lake was the major place for duckling drives. [756] [622] [223]

Fishing activities were organized on a small scale. Most fish were taken by spearing, often from fish blinds built over a section of the stream. One method was to divert small streams (dumØØsh) and pick up the stranded fish. Another method used a basketry fish trap anchored in a narrow spot on a stream. 226 433

In addition there were fish drives using dams (imbeshuk)[1] or fish nets (atabi digush). The drives usually involved only a single household, but occasionally individuals from more than one household would work together in driving the fish, often with a large bundle of willow branches (bØØshi) that was pushed along (Freed n.d.). The work of diverting a stream often involved members of more than one household, but in any case the division of products was approximately equal according to the number of adult workers. Men did most of the fishing, but there was no opposition to women fishing as there was to women hunting. Downs (1961, 381) said "Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting." [592] [476]

Pinenut gathering was organized to some degree on a tribal wide basis. There were traditional gathering strips for the various households. Prayers and ritual were given for the whole pinenut crop before gathering began at the fall pinenut festival (lagum gummbey?). Distribution of the pinenut crop depended primarily on the amount of work put in, while location of a household's gathering strips (dimasha) was of only minor importance. 222 433 [782] [788]

## Gift and Ceremonial Exchange

Gift and ceremonial exchange was characterized by being personal, friendly, and by increasing in volume with the intensity of social ties. The reciprocity 571 431

1. Fremont saw these in January of 1844 among the Northern Paiute and Washo (Nevins 1956, 342). [175]

## Trade

Trade and gift exchange were not clearly separate in Washo society. However, the language does distinguish between sharing (mibé shighi) and trading (damalu).[1] In trade there tended to be immediate reciprocation while gift exchange often involved a time lapse. Trade also tended to be competitive and to increase with less intensive social ties. Trade involved explicit negotiation and social status was secondary as a factor in the transaction. Trade involved an impersonal relation which focused on the economic goods rather than upon the social relations of persons involved. 431 438

Washo trade was an estimated one or two percent of the total distribution. Four types of trade are recognized: (1) silent, without face-to-face interaction; (2) personal, where personal ties are relatively important; (3) administered, based on governmental rules; and (4) market, which is relatively free from personal and governmental ties. Washo trade in this framework was "personal". 438 [433] [656]

Hank Pete maintained that women would often trade under circumstances in which men would ordinarily give gifts. Trade proceeded with little haggling. The transaction was initiated by either a buyer or a seller. It took the form of propositions, questions, and answers such as "I'll trade you this for that. This one? No, that one! I need more for that one. Then I'll include this, too. We can trade then." Trade with non-Washo was conducted through gestures and a few key words understood by both parties, such as damalu for "trade". 437 438 [439]

The Washo lacked rigid standards of reference, that is, the valuation of two materials to be traded in terms of a third material. Goods were traded without reference to their value in other goods and without a traditional exchange rate. For this reason it was difficult to collect data on equivalencies of value or rates of exchange. 435 438

From descriptions of actual transactions, and by insisting on some relative values of objects, the following scale was established by this writer. Hank Pete said that rabbit nets were never traded. They were too valuable. Many things, because of tradition or personal desires, were not traded. Such things might be a shaman's paraphernalia, a bow that had killed a number of deer, or food and clothing needed for survival. Freed and Freed (n.d., 10) state that the loss or destruction of a shaman's curing implements was a cause of illness to the shaman. [753] [756]

Certain things were near the top of the value scale. A double rabbit skin blanket, a large coiled water tight cooking basket (giulsu), a whole buck deer, and three tanned deer skins were roughly equal in value. Hank Pete said he had never heard of anyone who had three tanned deer skins, and a

1. A loan word from Miwok, according to William H. Jacobsen, Jr. (personal communication). [192]

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a load of fish back to the valley to help feed those who had been left behind. In the fall, groups of Washo would travel into California to gather acorns. These trips frequently took them as far west as Placerville. The Washo then returned to the Pine Nut Mountains for the pine-nut season. In the years when there was no crop of pine nuts, a family might choose to winter at Lake Tahoe or in one of the valleys east of the Sierra Nevada.

The Washo no longer lead a migratory life. The shores of Lake Tahoe are now privately owned, and the Washo may not fish there. They still obtain acorns from California, but they no longer have to travel in groups for protection. The trip takes only a day or two in an automobile and may be made by an individual or a single family. The only noteworthy survival of the old seasonal migrations is the fall trip to the Pine Nut Mountains to hunt deer and gather pine nuts. Many families, especially those headed by older people, still spend a month or longer in the Pine Nut Mountains.

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## ECONOMIC LIFE

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The major game animals were deer, antelope, and rabbit. Deer could be hunted individually or communally. The leader of the communal deer hunt was a secular officer; that is, he did not derive his authority from dreams (Lowie, 1939, p. 326). He divided the hunting party into two groups. One group built fires and drove the deer toward the other hunters who were lying in ambush with bow and arrow. The captured deer were divided among all who participated in the hunt. Deer provided, in addition to food, hides for clothes and sinews for use in the manufacture of bows and arrows.

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Deer could be hunted by small parties of four or five men. When pursued, deer follow a certain route; and as the Indians knew which way the animals would go, some of them chased the deer while others took a short cut and lay in wait. Disguises consisting of the horns and hide of a deer were sometimes used to approach a herd of deer and lure them close to a group of concealed hunters (Curtis, 1926, pp. 94-95).

[411]

Deer remain a fairly important item of food for the modern Washo. Today deer are hunted by individuals armed with rifles; the old, coöperative methods of deer hunting are no longer practised.

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Antelope were hunted by a technique known as antelope charming. The leader of the antelope hunt received his power through dreams. He communicated with the animals in his dreams and told them not to be afraid of him. When antelope were sighted, the Washo built a corral of sagebrush. The antelope charmer approached the herd and talked to them, gradually leading them into the corral. This was accompanied by a slow drive by the rest of the Indians. Once the antelope were inside the corral, the Washo rushed upon them and killed them with clubs and bows and arrows. The animals were divided among all the hunters. This method of hunting must have disappeared very early, for no antelope chief was living in 1926 (Lowie, 1939, p. 324).

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Rabbits were hunted by a communal drive under the leadership of a secular rabbit chief. This officer was distinct from both the leader of the deer hunt and the antelope charmer. According to Barrett (1917, p. 12), he was a hereditary officer; according to Lowie (1939,

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dance gave a reason for its omission, such as her attendance at a government boarding-school. In general, the ceremony is scrupulously observed. The modern ceremony is a modified version of the old one. The girl no longer climbs a mountain; she climbs a small hill. An automobile is waiting for her when she returns; she wears her slip when she is being bathed instead of being naked as was formerly the custom; she abstains from meat for only two weeks instead of a month; the second dance is usually omitted. Yet the essentials of the ceremony are maintained; and this is in the face of the teasing to which the Indian girl is exposed from her white schoolmates, for the public puberty ceremony makes her a conspicuous social object at the time of her first menses. 881 178 [648]

Marriages were celebrated with a minimum of ceremony. The most desirable Washo marriage was one arranged by the parents of the bride and groom. Such a marriage was preceded by an exchange of presents. To refuse a present was to reject the prospective bride or groom. Following the exchange of gifts, the new couple began to live together without further ceremony (Curtis, 1926, p. 97; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). The exchange of presents was optional, and occasionally a boy and girl would live together without the benefit of parental arrangements (Barrett, 1917, p. 9; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). Perhaps arranged marriages were never very frequent or else the custom began to die out very early, for in my interviews I found only two arranged marriages out of a total of forty-eight. Today, most people marry in the "tribal" manner, that is, they just begin to live together. Even those few who have purchased marriage licenses usually neglect to go to a justice of peace to complete the ceremony officially. 584 583 585 585 178 [177]

Curtis (1926, p. 97) says that the dead were formerly cremated. Lowie (1939, p. 310) and Barrett (1917, p. 9) confirm this but add that, by the time they studied the Washo, burial had replaced cremation. Following cremation, the Washo collected the bones of the dead person and placed them in a creek. The clothes and personal property of the deceased person were burned or hidden and the house he used was abandoned. The old men and women cut their hair and mourned for three months (Lowie, 1939, p. 310). 764 [768] [765] [302]

Modern funerals retain many Indian practices. Chief among them are the customs intended to make sure that the ghost of the dead person does not return to trouble the living. Before the body is lowered into the grave, an old man steps forward and makes a speech instructing the ghost to stay away. All of the dead person's property that can be buried is interred with him. Personal property must be destroyed, for this is the "road" by which the ghost of the dead can return and trouble the living. 764 178 175 [537] [768]

## RELIGION AND CURING

The shaman was the principal religious figure. He possessed supernatural power (wegelévu) which he received in dreams and which he learned to control during an apprenticeship of several years under an experienced shaman. A shaman could use his power either to cure sickness or to kill. Supernatural power could come from the deer, rattlesnake, "water-baby" (a small, white, manlike creature which lived in streams, springs, and lakes), bear, and eagle. The Washo call both the sources of power and the power itself wegelévu. 756 [754] [776] [792]

●756 The word also denotes the implements used in curing.
[192] A curing ceremony usually lasted four nights al-
765 though it was sometimes reduced to two. The rites
756 were the same each night. For the first three nights, the shaman would stop around midnight; on the final night he continued until dawn. The shaman's techniques consisted largely of smoking, singing the songs he had received from his wagelóya, praying, and finally sucking out the cause of the disease. This might be an insect, a pine nut, a small piece of bone, or some
756 other small object. The shaman's paraphernalia included a rattle, a straight stone pipe, and, for at least one shaman, a bone whistle.

Two shamans were active among the Washo as recently as a few years ago. Today, only one remains alive, and he is an old man. When he dies, shamanism
178 will disappear. Modern Washo medicine is a mixture
668 of shamanism, white medicine, and curing through
756 peyote meetings. Any or all remedies may be tried by a particular patient. The older people are reluctant to go to the government doctor, for they have a fear of being placed in the hospital. They tend to patronize the shaman and the peyote cult in preference to the white doctor. The peyotists, though sincere believers, also recognize the powers of the shaman and the white doctor and readily patronize either of them.
[178] The younger people, however, prefer modern medicine; and it is steadily displacing the other two methods of curing.

## POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND LEADERS

361 Washo political organization was extremely simple. Settlements were minute; Lowie's informants said that they usually had only two to four huts (1939, p. 303). Each settlement was politically independent. Washo
622 informants report the presence of tribal chiefs, but
[114] Lowie thinks that this was probably a recent development (1939, p. 303). The chief's sole function was to arrange dances and to make speeches exhorting the Washo to be good and to behave properly. Special
624 headmen led the communal antelope, deer, and rabbit
[224] hunts. The antelope chief received his power in dreams;
[787] the other two hunting chiefs were secular officers.

The political organization of the modern Washo is more complex. They have adopted a written constitu-
178 tion and they elect a tribal council. Yet this new com-
623 plexity is largely nominal, for the council exercises
642 little real power and each family does pretty much as it pleases. The chief responsibilities of the council are to manage the small amount of tribal property and to maintain the water supply in Dresslerville, Nevada. Though these are relatively simple matters,
[578] the council handles them quite ineptly. Factional fights and personal antagonisms block any really effective
[887] council action. The older people, who run the council, seem incapable of dealing with the important problems which face the modern Washo; and the younger people appear to take little interest in council affairs. In short, the Washo have not yet developed an effective political organization.

## WARFARE

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281 Warfare seems to have been waged under the leader-
622 ship of any renowned fighter. The leader collected his
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band by sending a messenger around the country carrying a knotted cord (ha'ló·go). The knots represented the number of days remaining until the persons who wished to take part in the fight were to gather at the place of assembly, and the messenger untied one knot every day so as to keep track of the time that remained. 721 622 [203] [211]

After the warriors had assembled, they engaged in a war dance which lasted four or eight nights. During this period, they manufactured bows and arrows. The arrows were smeared with rattlesnake poison obtained by letting a rattlesnake strike a piece of deer meat. The war dance was a kind of test and training for warfare. A man demonstrated by vigorous dancing that he was strong and fit to go to war; and the dance itself consisted of sudden, jerking movements as if one were dodging arrows. The war dance resembled the pine-nut dance in that features of both dances imitated the coming activities: in the war dance, men danced with bows and arrows and acted as if they were at war; in the pine-nut dance, people carried their implements for gathering and cooking pine nuts. Several taboos were observed during the period of the war dance: (1) men and women were forbidden sexual intercourse; (2) warriors could not eat meat and salt; (3) pregnant women could not throw their shadows on men engaged in dancing and they could not touch the bows and arrows. 721 535 [411] [825] [834] [262] [263]

Shamans who accompanied the war party served two functions: they called on their supernatural power to keep the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault; and since they were specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded. The shamans also selected the night for the attack. While the Washo were surrounding the enemy camp, the shamans became very intent on their praying so that none of the enemy should awake. The Washo then entered the camp of the enemy, set fire to their huts, and killed them with clubs and arrows as they emerged. Everyone was killed, even small babies. [843] 726 756 789

When the Washo returned, they had a dance which lasted two or four nights. Lowie reports that men and women danced over the capture of the scalp of the enemy regarded as the best fighter. The scalp was tied to the top of an eight-foot, peeled, willow pole, which everyone except young girls seized and shook. The people finally burned the hair of the scalp and then went home (Lowie, 1939, pp. 329-330). My informants omitted mention of the scalp, but said that an important feature of the dance after the fighting was a ritual bath. This was necessary before the warriors could eat or have intercourse with their wives. The Washo apparently were militarily superior to the Miwok and the Maidu on the west, but they found the more numerous Paiute on their eastern border more formidable opponents. The fact that the Paiute obtained horses earlier than the Washo would also have given the Paiute some superiority in warfare. 727 [783] 726 [231]

## SUMMARY

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Aboriginal Washo culture may be thought of as a blend of Californian and Great Basin cultural traits. Heizer and Elsasser (1953, p. 4) note the following ties with California:

> . . . the conical dwelling made by piling up bark slabs; semi-subterranean assembly house; "community" or bedrock mortar; emphasis on coiled

[P.361, A]

subsequently patrilocal, 8 neolocal, and 1 matrilocal. I have counted a single marriage more than once if the couple shifted residence more than once. For example, if a couple lived for two years with the wife's parents, then for some time with the husband's family, and finally by themselves, they were counted as initially matrilocal and subsequently patrilocal and neolocal. Of the first marriages not initially matrilocal, 11 were patrilocal, 10 matrilocal (permanently and not just initially), and 9 neolocal. 591 178 114

The various kinds of residence arrangements are scattered randomly with respect to the age of informants. This is a critical point, for the neolocal marriages were not specifically reported by the earlier investigators. Although Lowie says that a couple moved after the death of the wife's parents, he does not specify the new location of the couple. Yet the fact that neolocal marriages occur as frequently among older people as among younger indicates that they are not a recent innovation.

Data on 11 second and subsequent marriages are contained in the genealogies and life histories. Three of these were initially matrilocal; and of these, 1 was subsequently patrilocal and 2 neolocal. Of the second marriages not initially matrilocal, 3 were patrilocal, 4 matrilocal, and 5 neolocal. As was true of first marriages, the various kinds of residence arrangements of second and subsequent marriages were distributed randomly with respect to the age of informants. 591 178 [124]

To trace the history of a number of Washo marriages, as has been done above, describing them as patrilocal or matrilocal or neolocal without regard for the length of time spent under the various rules, gives a somewhat distorted picture of Washo residence, for it emphasizes unduly the "neolocal" residences. Actually, almost all couples live near their parents or other close relatives the greater part of their lives. Occasionally, a family may live for a few years with no close relatives near by. For this reason some marriages have been classed as neolocal. In the matter of residence rules, the normative statements of Lowie's, Curtis', and my informants give a better picture of the essential nature of Washo residence than a statistical count. Residence may best be described as bilocal. There is no evidence that the rule of residence was different in prewhite times.

## DESCENT AND INHERITANCE

Descent was basically bilateral. Personal property was not inherited, for it had to be destroyed at death. Pine-nut picking rights descended bilaterally. A person also had picking rights on his spouse's land, but these rights were terminated at the death of the spouse. Certain offices may have descended from father to son. Barrett (1917, p. 9) says that each village had a hereditary chief. In former times, the office passed from father to the eldest son; more recently, he says, the office was filled by the selection of the most appropriate individual regardless of relationship. Barrett also states that the rabbit chief was a hereditary official, but this is disputed by Lowie. Neither shamans nor antelope charmers inherited their positions. 428] [611] [764] 622 624 114 756

The aboriginal Washo system of inheritance fits well with the American bilateral system and has changed only slightly since the coming of the whites. One change is that people can now dispose of their property by a will. This is particularly important with regard to in- 428 178

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
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made by automobile to Texas and New Mexico in order to replenish dwindling supplies of "the herb" from the "Peyote gardens."

Ritual procedure and ideology has undergone some noteworthy changes since it was first observed by Stewart in 1938. Most of these indicate an alignment with the practices of the Peyotists of eastern tribes as standardized by the Native American Church. Women no longer preside nor do they sing at meetings, as they were encouraged to do during Ben Lancaster's early dominance. It is now considered preferable to hold meetings in a canvas tipi rather than in a member's cabin or temporary windbreak. There is insistence upon members learning "real Peyote songs" rather than bringing "any old song" to meetings as was once allowed. The performance of leaders in conducting meetings and in their personal lives is critically evaluated by the membership in terms of an ideal which is frequently expressed as "the way those old-time Peyote Indians back east do it."

Some changes are especially significant in that they appear to be unique and to suggest Washo cultural influence. Eagle feathers were formerly used by the shaman and were considered too powerful for ordinary people to handle. While used in Peyote today, informants admit that the Washo are not as free with these feathers as are Peyotists in other tribes; the use of eagle feather "fans" is carefully restricted to the "strongest" roadchiefs and old members. Other members make fans from the feathers of various birds, each with its special qualities and degree of "power."

The traditional Washo concept of spirit guidance or power is strenuously opposed by Peyotist ideology. All "power" is in Peyote, and the devout are merely its instruments. Peyote is "good" but the medicines of the old shamans were "bad" because they were the gift from evil forces for the personal gain of the shaman. This has been one of the primary arguments of the local Peyotists in their struggle to defend and improve their status among the more conservative members of the tribe. Many Peyotists take the position that the idea of "power" itself is alien to the true spirit of Peyote, although the same persons may attribute the eclipse of shamanism over the past twenty years to the superior "power" of Peyote. More sophisticated versions of this same view hold that God gave Peyote to man as a weapon to fight evil, and that shamanism was one of the evils. Individual Peyotists accuse one another of causing sickness or death under guidance of malicious spirits, or of secretly making use of Peyotist ritual, song, and medicine as a screen for acquiring personal advantage in "the old way." Coyote, loon, eagle, and snake are seen at meetings and are a sign that some member is clandestinely associated with them.

The rivalry among leading Peyotists for success in curing and ritual proficiency is no less intense than that once exhibited by the shamans in public competitions. Deaths of members or too-frequent failure to cure result in suspicion and the eventual rejection of a leader. Eating of Peyote in large quantities may be admired as a proof of devotion, but it is more likely to be considered as a slightly unethical swaggering too reminiscent of a trick of the old shamans who ate the poisonous wild parsnip to show their "power."

## Descent and Inheritance

Descent is basically bilateral. Because personal property is destroyed at death and houses are torn down and abandoned, they cannot be inherited. Plots of pinenut trees are privately owned and are inherited bilaterally. The plots are marked by lines of stones. If an individual is discovered gathering in the wrong plot, the owner may take the intruder's pinenuts and break the implements he used. A person has the right to pick in his spouse's plot, but this right terminates at the death of the spouse. Barrett (1917) writes that each village has a hereditary chief, teŭbĕ́yŭ (Barrett's transcription), and that the office passes from father to son. Lowie (1939), on the other hand, says that one of his informants reported a teŭbĕ́yŭ for all the Washo; but he comments that this is probably a recent development. His informants did not know whether the chief inherited from his father. Our informants, as well as Lowie's, mention chiefs (teŭbĕ́yŭ) who, in aboriginal times, would call people together on ceremonial occasions and address them, telling them to behave properly. These chiefs had no authority beyond their ceremonial functions; there is no evidence concerning the possible inheritance of the office. Special headmen led the communal rabbit, antelope and deer hunts. According to Barrett (1917), the rabbit chief inherits his office, but Lowie (1939) says he is chosen by the people. Two of our informants, Nancy Emm and Roy James, say the rabbit chief inherited from his father. The antelope chief is a shaman who dreams the right to his office. Shamans do not inherit their positions. Any able hunter is the leader of a communal deer hunt (Barrett, 1917, 9, 12; Lowie, 1939, 303). Inheritance among the modern Washo is bilateral. Family names may be inherited from either the father or mother. Some of the marriages contracted by the younger Washo are of very brief duration, and in this circumstance the child often takes the family name of the mother. The offspring of more permanent unions take the father's name.

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## Family, Moiety, and Local Group

The nuclear family was the basic unit of aboriginal Washo social organization. The Washo practiced polygyny and therefore had some polygynous families. Whether the polygynous families ever reached a frequency of 20%, a figure that Murdock (1949, 28) uses to distinguish between societies with polygynous families and those with monogamous families, cannot be determined because polygyny is now prohibited by law and the Washo no longer practice it. According to our informants, the aboriginal Washo family was nuclear; none of the published sources contains contrary evidence. The modern Washo family is nuclear, but it sometimes includes a few other relatives.

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funeral speech, the destruction of property, and the abandonment of the house are all connected with a belief in ghosts who can cause sickness for their living relatives. Property is the "road" by which the ghost can return from the land of the dead. Its destruction prevents the return of the ghost (Freed and Freed, 1963). Houses are not destroyed for they are too valuable, but they are abandoned for a time and purified by smoking with sagebrush before reoccupancy. We did not observe any hair cutting for funerals. Holbrook says that the first thing people must do on returning to their homes from a funeral is to wash their faces. Thus it is doubtful if the year's prohibition on washing the face is still maintained, but we have no testimony on this point with regard to mourners. The name of the dead is permanently taboo, as it was formerly. The modern Washo funeral often takes place immediately after a Baptist service held by a white missionary in the Dresslerville church.

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## The Shaman's Curing Rite

The Shaman's curing rite is described in some detail in Freed and Freed (1963) and so only a summary will be given here. The shaman cured diseases by means of supernatural power. If the disease was caused by a ghost, the shaman identified the ghost and the property it had traveled on. He then told the patient either to get rid of the property or to treat it properly. If the disease was due to the intrusion of a foreign body into the victim either through sorcery or because the victim had mistreated food such as pinenuts, the shaman sucked out the object causing the disease. The shaman used a variety of implements in his curing, some of which represented the sources of his power. A tubular bone pipe, tobacco, and a cocoon rattle were used by all shamans. The eagle feather was frequently used, for the eagle was a potent source of power for many shamans.

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The curing ceremony was held each night for four nights in the home of the patient before a crowd of spectators. The shaman prayed to his power, sang songs received from it, smoked and blew smoke on the patient, shook his rattle and walked about. He alternated these activities until about midnight on the first three nights of the ceremony and continued until dawn on the fourth night. On the morning after the fourth night everyone took a bath to conclude the ceremony. At some time during the ceremony the shaman had a vision that told him whether or not the cure would be successful.

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The modern curing rite is apparently similar in all its essentials to the aboriginal one. Minor changes have occurred. Cigarettes are used instead of a tubular stone pipe; the ceremony is sometimes shortened to two nights; and the shaman no longer goes into a trance, vomits out the disease object, paints the patient, or brushes away the disease as reported by Stewart (1941, 413-14).

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178 (1941, 413-14). Although the rite itself has changed but slightly since white
● 756 contact and the shaman is a respected figure and widely patronized, the shaman's curing rite is on the point of disappearance because the shamans themselves are dying out. Only one remains and he was born in 1885.[3]

## The Pinenut Dance

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791 One special man, says Hank Pete, dreamed about pinenuts and prayed
824 for them. He was not a shaman but he had power (see Freed and Freed, 1963).
222 He prayed that the pinenuts increase in number and not be full of worms. This
[787] man was the leader of the pinenut dance and was the person who decided whether the pinenuts were ready for picking. If people were to pick the pinenuts
[782] without the leader's consent, says Pete, the nuts would be wormy and rotten.
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Pinenuts were probably the most important single food of the Washo.
222 The pinenut dance (gumsabaʔai) was held in the fall of the year before the
824 pinenut harvest. The leader called the people together in Double Springs Flat
527 by sending around a knotted cord. The knots represented the number of days remaining before the ceremony was to begin. The messenger untied a knot
[791] every day as he traveled about calling people. As the people assembled, the
[262] leader of the communal rabbit hunt gathered as many people as possible for a
[211] large rabbit drive, and outstanding hunters would organize communal deer hunts. The hunting drives lasted four days after which the Washo began the
[624] pinenut dance.

526 The pinenut dance lasted four nights. Each morning everyone had to
527 take a oath. During the day the Washo engaged in a variety of games and
[515] races, all accompanied by heavy gambling. People of different moieties opposed each other in the games. The most popular games were men's football,
[525] a ball race, foot races, archery contests, the hand game and women's shinny.
[816] Usually teams from the different moieties played each other in all the games.

Men's football was played on a field with goals at either end. The object was to kick a small buckskin ball between the two sticks forming the goal. Five or six men played on a side. The game began with the throwing of the ball between the two teams in the middle of the field. Wrestling was allowed in the football game. One goal won the game.

The ball race was also played by men. Two teams arranged themselves in straight lines at right angles to a line between the paired sticks forming the goal. Each team had a ball which at the start of the game was in the possession of the team member at the end of the line farthest from the goal. The

## Analysis

178 One factor common to those ceremonies on the verge of disappearance
755 and lacking in the ones likely to survive is the need of a specialist. A shaman
756 is necessary for the curing ceremony. A shaman achieves his position through a supernatural experience and a period of training under an established shaman (Freed and Freed, 1963). His role is probably the most specialized among the
[177] Washo. The shaman's curing rite has survived into the 1950's in relatively unchanged form despite the presence of two competing methods of curing illness: modern western medicine and the Peyote Cult. Yet the rite appears headed for sudden disappearance because the shaman himself is disappearing.

178 The leader of the pinenut dance was a specialist who achieved his posi-
527 tion through personality traits and force of character which commanded re-
791 spect. The last leader of the pinenut dance died years ago and the recent revival of the dance was a very attenuated version of the aboriginal ceremony. Pinenuts are no longer a staple food for the Washo. Many people earn their
[262] livings entirely by wage work and buy all their food. Yet some people still go to the hills for the pinenut season, and the attempted revival of the dance indicates an interest in it. But the dance is gone, and a prominent factor in its disappearance seems to be that no leader of the aboriginal type is alive to organize the ceremony.

178 The surviving ceremonies, on the other hand, require no specialists.
881 The girl's puberty dance has not changed greatly from aboriginal times, and the changes are generally modifications of traditional practices. Any woman can sponsor a dance. Thus the ceremony is not threatened with sudden dis-
[177] appearance as is the shaman's curing rite. A factor that may have an effect upon the persistence of the girl's puberty dance is that no ceremonies of
177 American culture are in competition with it. However, the effects of competing cultural patterns are not clear. No competition exists for the pinenut
178 dance, yet it has effectively disappeared. Competing ceremonies are present for birth and death ceremonies, yet these are still practiced. The shaman's curing rite has two competing ceremonies, but it remains relatively unaffected pending the death of the remaining shaman.[3]

178 The ceremonies at birth and death require no specialists. The ceremonies at birth have perhaps changed more than either the girl's puberty dance or death ceremonies, but they are still observed. The greatest changes have been the complete abandonment of the traditional male observances. The old person who makes a speech at the funeral can be anyone, male or female. He does not organize the funeral; his role is ended in a few minutes and requires no special personality characteristics.

[3] [Footnote appears on p. 39 -- Analyst]

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562 The apparent relationship between specialists and the disappearance of Washo ceremonies focuses attention upon men, for men were usually the specialists in Washo society. Washo specialists were few, but almost all were men. The leaders of communal deer, rabbit and antelope hunts were men, as [756] were the leaders of war parties. The leader of the pinenut dance was a man. Shamans could be either men or women, but male shamans were probably more common. The two shamans practicing in the early 1950's were both men, and most of the shamans of former days mentioned by informants were men.

Modern conditions have affected the male role more than the female. Cooking and the care of babies, for example, retain their importance while hunting, fishing, and warfare have disappeared or have been considerably [177] reduced in importance. Men have of necessity taken to wage work. As a result the overwhelming power and authority of the larger society impinge more on men than on women and seem to have had the effect of undermining male [554] self-confidence. All specialist roles in Washo society were achieved rather than ascribed and a person attained office through a combination of skill and personality traits. But males may have become reluctant to try to achieve such statuses, knowing the prevailing attitudes of the larger society toward Washo culture. (Compare with Freed, 1960, 370, and Freed and Freed, 1963.)

Women seem better adjusted to modern conditions than men. They are less exposed to the larger society, and much of their interaction is with relatives where they feel sure of themselves. Two of the three surviving Washo ceremonies are life cycle ceremonies, which a woman arranges. No special personality attributes are required and the necessary arrangements involve mainly relatives.

## Conclusion

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105 This paper has described the ceremonies of the Washo and has suggested a reason why some appear on the point of disappearing while others seem capable of surviving, at least for the immediate future. One factor that may be important is the vulnerability of the aboriginal specialist under modern conditions. Therefore, ceremonies dependent upon specialists can disappear suddenly when specialists are no longer available. The surviving ceremonies, all life cycle ceremonies, require no specialists. Most Washo specialists were men, and the vulnerability of the specialists is in accord with the more disruptive effects of the larger society upon men than upon women.

These conclusions are highly tentative because of the few ceremonies involved in the analysis. They are only suggestions about possibly significant factors in Washo acculturation, and their validity will be determined by examining the course of acculturation in other simple hunting-gathering tribes of western North America. 128 105

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## Notes

1. This paper is based upon data collected during about six months of field work in the summers of 1952, 1953, 1956, and part of the winter of 1956-57. Our principal informants were Nancy Emm, Bertha Holbrook, and Hank Pete of Dresslerville, Nevada. We wish to thank the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, for financial assistance. 114 115 122

2. For a brief description of the war dances see Lowie, 1939, 329-30, and Freed, 1960, 353. 113

3. Since we made our last field trip to the Washo Indians in 1956-57, we have learned that this shaman has died. 114 756

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Rupert hired a shaman to teach him to use his power. The shaman told Rupert that he must fast four days and four nights every spring and fall for four years. On the final day of every fasting period he took some Indian food and placed it in a river or spring. After four years Rupert had his power under control. This shaman, or possibly the one mentioned above who had treated him, told Rupert that an eagle and a little boy were beside him. The eagle was to talk to Rupert during the curing ceremonies and tell him if the patient would recover.

Rupert is occasionally inconsistent. He says that the Hindu boy (sometimes Rupert says that the Hindu is a girl) is not his wegelévu, but in describing a curing ceremony, Rupert lists his wegelévus as water, the Hindu, the eagle and the little boy. Because all four of these function as wegelévu in curing ceremonies, we regard them as wegelévu. It is interesting that only water wegelévu came to Rupert in his dream. He learned about the Hindu only when the shaman who had treated him sucked the bone from his forehead. Rupert also learned about the eagle and the boy from another shaman.

Hank Pete's mother was a shaman. She became one before she was married. She ate no meat, grease or salt for four years and demonstrated
[134] the strength of her power by walking around in the snow without moccasins. Pete says sexual intercourse was forbidden to people training to be shamans, but this information was given in the course of a general discussion and not when talking about a specific case. Rupert does not mention sexual abstinence. Hank Pete's mother had a group of six people with her whom she was training as shamans. They went about, in Pete's words, like the Salvation Army, praying for the Indians, singing their power songs, and accepting donations of food and perhaps a rabbitskin blanket.

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Hank Pete told the following story, which he said is true, about a boy's receiving power from the water-baby. A famous shaman, Welukúshkush, frequently took a young boy around with him. One day the boy had a fit and became unconscious on the shore of Lake Tahoe. His parents sent for Welukúshkush whom they blamed for the boy's condition; they wanted to kill Welukúshkush. Welukúshkush said that the boy's soul had been taken by the water-baby and that he could bring back the boy. Welukúshkush had the water-baby for his wegelévu. Welukúshkush began to shake his rattle and pray. He walked into the water and stayed underneath for 10 minutes, according to Pete. He walked around the boy four times and had the boy's mother call his name four times. The boy began to revive; his nose bled and blood covered his chest. Welukúshkush faced the boy toward the lake and gave him his rattle to shake. Then Welukúshkush walked the boy around in a circle four times. The boy acted as if he had been asleep. After this experience, the boy became a shaman.

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Beliefs about the causes of disease and curing methods depend to a great extent on supernatural power and ghosts. Soul loss, an encounter with a ghost, and sorcery are three causes of illness involving the supernatural. The first is apparently rare: the taking of the boy's soul by the water-baby in the Welukŭshkush story recounted above is the only case we have recorded. Encounters with ghosts are more common. Our informants reported seven such encounters and made one general statement about this cause of sickness. The ghost causes illness, says Rupert, by "drying up the person's blood." It is possible, however, that ghosts kill by stealing a person's soul, for our informants often speak of the desire of the ghost to "take the relative back with him." However, no informant declared specifically that ghosts capture souls.

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Diseases caused by sorcery are also common. Our informants reported three cases and made four general statements about this source of disease. All the statements and two of the three cases indicate that sorcery involves nonrelatives, but in the case of diseases caused by ghosts the ghost and his victim are usually related. Sorcerers are persons with supernatural power who cause illness by magically shooting some object into their victim. They accomplish this simply by thinking about the person they wish to make ill or else by blowing their breath in his direction. Lowie's various accounts of sorcerers casting their spells differ from the statements of our informants. Lowie describes one sorcerer as spitting into his right palm and clenching his fist. Then he opens his fist, the thumb separated from the fingers (Lowie, 1939, 319). On another occasion, "The sorcerer merely took a bath in the cool of the early morning on four successive days and talked to himself. When ready, he would get within possibly five hundred yards of his victim. Then he would rub some stuff into the palm of his hand till it became invisible. He also took some fine sand and stepped on it with his left foot. His victim would fall sick, and within two days the heart would be knocked out of him without anyone's suspecting the cause, so that he would die. . . . Some doctors used a different procedure, picking up dust and scattering it toward their enemy with their hands" (Lowie, 1939, 320).

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Some diseases have no supernatural cause and may be treated by anyone with one of the large number of vegetable medicines known to the Washo. However, some of the best of these medicines are gathered by shamans who, in dreams, learn where they grow. The shaman may then sell these medicines or give them away.

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Shamans cure supernaturally caused diseases by means of their powers. The shaman uses a set of implements (wegeléyu) in curing ceremonies. Each shaman dreams of his implements, and these therefore differ slightly among shamans.

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shamans; however, pipe, tobacco and cocoon rattle are used by all shamans. 756
Rupert uses Indian tobacco, a handkerchief, a bone, a bone whistle, a cocoon
rattle, a little bag and an eagle feather. He rolls the tobacco into cigarettes, [178]
but in pre-white times, the shaman used a tubular stone pipe. The eagle
feather represents Rupert's eagle wegeléyu and the bone his Hindu wegeléyu.
Curing takes place indoors after sunset and usually lasts four nights, although [755]
the ceremony can be shortened to two nights.

Rupert begins by washing the patient's face and arms with cold water. 755
Everyone attending the ceremony must wash his face. The patient lies down 756
with his feet to the east. Rupert then smokes some white man's tobacco because of the Hindu. He ties the handkerchief around his head with the bone inside. He prays, talks, smokes Indian tobacco, blows smoke on the patient and walks about. He blows his whistle and passes a bag over the patient. Rupert claims that he can catch the disease in his whistle, and that when he does so, the whistle doesn't make much noise. Rupert makes an offering of pinenut meal by scattering it over the patient and toward the door. He sings his wegeléyu songs, accompanying himself with the rattle. Alternately he smokes, sings and prays, calling upon the Hindu, water, eagle and little boy to help. If Paiutes are present, they sometimes sing with the shaman, but, says Rupert, the Washo are a little afraid and do not sing. The first three nights the ceremony lasts until about midnight; then refreshments are served. [262]
During the curing the shaman and the patient abstain from meat and salt. On [263]
the fourth night the ceremony lasts all night and everyone must stay awake; [515]
after the ceremony all spectators must take a bath.

At some point in the ceremony the shaman has a vision and can foretell whether or not the cure will be successful. According to Rupert, if the cure is to be successful, the eagle will join him in singing and he will see clear water and green vegetation. If the eagle fails to join the singing and Rupert sees a dry and quiet scene, the patient will not recover. If the shaman sees water that is not clear, the patient will recover only partially. Rupert does not like to predict the outcome of the cure because he says that the eagle sometimes fools him and makes him lie to the patient's relatives.

Some variation in the curing ceremonies seems to depend on the cause of the disease. Stewart, Lowie and our informants mention the sucking out of the disease object as a part of the curing ceremony. The shaman displays the object and then disposes of it by throwing it away, throwing it in a fire, or by swallowing it. This occurred either when a person became sick from mistreating Indian food or was a victim of sorcery. In the latter case the shaman might not himself be able to cure the patient, but would see the face of the sorcerer in a vision. Then the patient's relatives could kill the sorcerer [283]
or force him to cure the patient; either procedure would result in his recovery.

755 756 775 [787] When a ghost is the cause of the disease, the shaman has a vision in which he identifies the ghost and the property upon which it had traveled. The shaman then advises the patient to get rid of this property; or, if the patient wants to keep it, he makes an additional payment to the shaman who then gives instructions that, if followed, permit him to retain the property without getting sick. Rupert usually instructs the patient to give water to the property. Sometimes the ghost gives the patient orders. When the shaman discovers this, he advises the patient to follow the orders of the ghost. Rupert relates how one ghost told her niece to bathe in a hot spring. The niece failed to do so and became ill. Rupert treated another case in which a ghost traveled on a winnowing basket and some eagle feathers and made a granddaughter ill. Rupert told the girl to give water to these things. She did and recovered.

753 756 [778] [787] Two causes of disease affect only shamans. One is illness resulting from power that has come to an individual who cannot control it. Such a person either learns to control the power or else has a shaman cure him by sucking out the power during a regular curing ceremony. The source of the second illness is the loss or destruction of the shaman's curing implements. If they are lost, another shaman may be able to locate them by having a vision in the course of a curing ceremony. If the implements are permanently lost, new implements may apparently be substituted. This conclusion is based on a single case in which Rupert claims to have cured a sick woman by informing her that two small children had lost her implements and that she must replace them. The destruction of a shaman's implements results in his death, according to our informants.

721 756 [792] [794] Warfare was a second culture pattern in which supernatural power played a prominent part. Shamans accompanied all war parties and served two functions: since they were often specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded, and they called upon their supernatural powers to keep the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault. The Washo attacked at night, hoping to surprise the enemy, and the shaman selected the night.

726 756 789 821 Shamans who had the power to control the weather sometimes aided in warfare. A story widely known among the Washo tells of a battle with the neighboring Maidu near Honey Lake in California. A leader gathered a band of warriors and two powerful shamans who possessed storm wegeléyu. The shamans summoned a north wind mixed with hail and the enemy froze to death. Lowie reports a similar version of this story (1939, 321).

721 754 756 Before a war party set out contests between shamans were held because the warriors wanted the shamans with the strongest powers to accompany them. Hank Pete says that the shamans filled their pipes and began to think about each other. They then exchanged pipes and began to smoke. After a

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756 few puffs the weaker shaman would start to choke and would fall unconscious, perhaps with blood running from his nose. After a time the stronger shaman would call the weaker one's name and revive him; or, if this failed, the stronger one would sing the weaker shaman's wegeléyu song and shake his rattle over him. If, after three repetitions of the song, the weaker shaman was still unconscious, the stronger would blow water from his mouth onto the other's forehead. This apparently was always effective. Although Pete did not explicitly say so, the mechanism involved in this kind of shamanistic contest may involve the loss and return of the soul. The unconscious state and the bleeding nose are similar to the symptoms of the boy in the Welukúshkush story; the two curing ceremonies have a common element in the calling of the unconscious person's name. Paralysis or unconsciousness and a bleeding nose are reported by Lowie in cases that probably involve soul loss (1939, 322-3).

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756 Contests among shamans were held regularly and not always as part of the war pattern. Possibly they were a means by which shamans publicized their powers. Rupert reports that shamans were able to walk on hot coals and climb steep cliffs where there were no handholds. Rupert says a friend of his saw a shaman dance in fire and then vanish. According to Rupert, shamans also competed by magically shooting objects into one another. If a shaman failed to remove an object shot into him by another, it was understood that he was the weaker of the two. The stronger shaman would then remove the object, for contests among shamans were never a killing matter.

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626 Both the threat of sorcery and the fear of an accusation of sorcery were important patterns of social control among the Washo. These patterns usually operated among nonrelatives. Anyone could hire a sorcerer to cast a spell on an enemy; therefore, an individual would try to avoid trouble with others, even with those who were not particularly formidable, for anyone could enlist aid. The activities of sorcerers were held in check because sorcerers were sometimes killed by angry relatives of the victim. If a sorcerer became particularly troublesome, the Washo might reach a kind of general agreement that he should be killed. According to Pete, even the relatives of the sorcerer might agree that this was necessary. The killing was sometimes by stoning and sometimes by other methods. The people who killed a sorcerer were not in danger from his ghost because ghosts bother only relatives. Rupert says he never heard of the ghost of a murdered man returning to trouble the murderer. Lowie's discussion of the measures taken to control sorcery (1939, 319-20) agrees with the statements of our informants.

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754 Witches as well as sorcerers exist among the Washo. A sorcerer has active control over his wegeléyu, whereas a witch is an old person whose generalized power (not wegeléyu) has become fairly strong with age. Sorcerers

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One use in

deer hunting involves the purification of an unlucky deer hunter. According to Pete, the shaman prays four days, after which the hunter gives away the first deer he kills. A second use of power in deer hunting is to locate a medicine called mugálu which, when properly used, puts the deer to sleep. Pete says that only shamans dream of this root. They wash and pray before collecting it; afterwards they give pieces of it to friends and relatives. The hunter puts a small piece of the root in a fresh deer track and begins to trail the deer. When he catches up to the deer, he finds it sleeping.

A shaman leads the communal antelope hunt. He sees the antelope in his dreams and talks to them. He sends boys to see if a herd has appeared as seen in his dream. When a herd has been sighted the Washo build a corral of sagebrush with a long chute leading into it. The shaman smokes his pipe and charms the antelope into the enclosure aided by a slow drive on the part of the other Indians. Once the animals are inside the corral the Washo close the entrance and kill the animals (Lowie, 1939, 324-5).

III

This paper has discussed the characteristics of supernatural power and ghosts among the aboriginal Washo. These elements occur in a number of culture patterns and therefore perform an integrating function in that they give Washo culture a degree of logical consistency. The recognition of the fear configuration helps to explain some features of Washo behavior in which the rationale is not readily apparent. The formation of children's play groups, the reported infrequency of physical punishment for children, and the correlation of attempted suicide and troubles within the family are examples. A statement by Hank Pete indicates that fear of old people may have been one factor in determining household composition. In a discussion of household composition during the fishing season at Lake Tahoe, Pete remarked that the fear of old people was a limiting factor in the number of people who would live together in one windbreak. It would be difficult to test this statement today, but a brief survey of the attitudes of younger parents toward having old people in the same household would indicate both the present-day strength of the fear configuration and the possibility that this configuration was a factor in indigenous household patterns.

Among the modern Washo, the fear configuration is almost certainly less prominent than it was in aboriginal times because the elements upon which it was based are disappearing (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 617). However, this configuration may still be useful in explaining some of the

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171 the consequence of such restrictions is to create aggressive tendencies that must be canalized in some culturally approved manner so that psychological and intrasocietal conflicts are minimized.

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154 Nadel takes issue with the latter point. He argues that it is a false
171 assumption "that witchcraft beliefs 'canalize' hostility or 'deflect' hostile
121 impulses into socially relatively harmless channels" (1952, 28). Presenting
114 evidence from four societies in Africa, he points out that belief in sorcerers is "conspicuously related to specific anxieties," (1952, 28) and therefore it only accentuates concrete hostilities. Though Kluckhohn, for one, would probably not have denied the "costs" of witchcraft, he did feel these were frequently stated without recognizing the potential euphoric effects of beliefs in witchcraft for the social system as a whole (1944, 67-8).

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174 The Washo provided an opportunity for an exploration of this differ-
154 ence in opinion. Since the Washo belief in the prevalence of witches changed drastically over a period of approximately 15 years, we were able to ask the
[178] question of whether the elimination of witches as objects of aggression would help solidify the society, as Nadel suggested, or would create a need for new opportunities for releasing aggressions.

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871 In addition to addressing ourselves to the function of witchcraft in
754 Washo society, we were also concerned with education, the intervening variable between frustration and the acceptable objects of aggression. Of course,
154 members of a society do not usually consciously employ the educational process for this purpose, and the presence of sorcerers rather than some other kind of scapegoat can only be accounted for by particular historical developments in Washo culture, but the transmission of knowledge about certain phenomena will obviously affect the possibility of their being manipulated as objects of aggression.

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● 756 The Washo were a fairly typical Great Basin group, according to Edgar Siskin, who visited them in the late 1930's, except for their fear of and belief in the power of shamans, which he thought achieved "an unsurpassed eminence in the Washo" (1941, 125). Lowie, after briefly visiting the Washo in 1927, observed that a correlation of shamanistic power with evil magic was prevalent in their world-view, and he relates several instances in which shamans
[683] were supposed to have been responsible for deaths. When this would happen four or five men would finally agree to murder the shaman. One of Lowie's informants believed one of the shamans, or Indian doctors, as the Washo call them, to have been "mad." "He tries to poison us all, it seems to us. That's the way he used to do in the old days. A Washo doctor always tried to injure his own people in the old days" (Lowie, 1939, 320).

Actually, the Washo seem to have held a dual conception of the shaman; he had the ability both to kill and to cure, and this coincided with the Washo view of the supernatural beings that inhabited nature. The Washo regarded their world as pervaded with power, which was a vague and enormous force embodied in a multitude of spirits. These spirits resided in natural and supernatural forms, such as birds, animals and "water-babies." Communion with these spirits came in dreams and provided the power by which a person could "exercise a possible measure of control over the fortunes and hazards of life" (Siskin, 1941, 27). To exercise this power and thus become a shaman was possible, however, only after a spirit presented itself to a neophyte, who cultivated it by proper training. Thus the vision quest was not practiced, though Downs notes that in actual practice it was probably a "conscious and voluntary act on the part of an individual" (1961, 370). In the case of children, Siskin quotes an informant as saying that one as young as seven years old could dream about a spirit, but he "will not know what it is all about" (1941, 41). A shaman, however, could recognize when a child had been visited and would entreat the spirit not to harm the child and to leave him until he had grown up.

Obtaining a spirit was looked upon as being both good and bad. Its entrance into a person was accompanied by sickness, and its instructions often produced physical hardships by demanding a rigorous pattern of behavior, including abstention from certain foods, during the training period. On the other hand, possession of a spirit gave its carrier powerful controls over his fellow man and his environment.

The possession of a spirit permitted an individual to become a shaman or so-called Indian doctor, with the ability to cure illnesses, but at the same time, he had the potential of practicing black magic and becoming a sorcerer. Indeed, the Washo did not terminologically distinguish between shaman and sorcerer, and the dual nature of this role was best exemplified in cases of illness. It was the responsibility of the Indian doctor to deal with all maladies. After performing a four day ritual of bringing his power to bear on the diseased object that had intruded the patient, the doctor would then extract the item. The reasons given for the cause of the disease were many, and included violation of ritual specifications connected with hunting, malevolence of ghosts, and contact with the dead. The most frequent reason given for illness, however, was witchcraft, which shamans were expected to cure since one of them was always thought responsible for the condition (Siskin, 1941, 140). This duality of the shamans was definitely considered to be weighted toward the negative side. More often than not a patient would die, and this was considered proof of the evil nature of shamans. The Washo believed that even if a shaman were to cure someone one day, this same person could be his victim the next. Siskin believed that "the feeling of apprehension and anxiety with regard to sorcery may be said to permeate the culture," and this also

applied to those Washo who had "achieved varying degrees of sophistication" (1941, 82). Elsewhere in his thesis he again says, "Every layman's testimony bristled with a cynical and resentful awareness of the grasping character of shamanistic practice" (1941, 121).

Siskin's main concern was with the reasons behind the rise and decline of the Peyote Cult during his period of study and its effect on the entrenched power of the shamans. The shamans seemed to have won the battle at that time, just as they had before when confronted with the Ghost Dances of 1870 and 1890, and when any budding temporal leader had challenged their domain. Though the shamans succeeded in having the Peyote Cult leaders expelled from Dresslerville, the main all-Washo community in Nevada, their victory had the appearance of being a Pyrrhic one, and Siskin predicted a short life for them. This indeed turned out to be the case. Whereas Siskin listed 10 known shamans in 1939 (1941, 28), only one remained when we studied the Washo during the summer of 1956, and he was trusted and not feared by anyone. In other words, the sole remaining shaman was "good" as opposed to the "bad" Indian doctors who practiced witchcraft.

The shamans, except for this one, and the concomitant fear of witchcraft, had been disposed of in a number of ways. The position of the Indian doctors was challenged by the entrance of the Peyote Cult during the 1930's, the period of Siskin's (1941) and Stewart's (1944) studies. The new movement promised cures and thus struck directly at the power of the shamans. Though the effect of Peyotism was not wholly responsible for the downfall of the shamans, this encroachment undoubtedly was the beginning of their decline. A few shamans were subsequently murdered, though my informants emphasized that their deaths were made to look like accidents, and others died of natural causes. This explicit evidence of sorcerers' being the objects of aggression clearly placed the role of witchcraft beliefs among the Washo in the same category as that found among the Navajo, Hopi, Saulteaux and Ifaluk.

The fact that the shamans' ranks were not refilled can be partially attributed to their beneficial "doctoring" functions' having been taken over by the Peyote Cult leaders, who lived near Dresslerville, as well as by white doctors. Nevertheless, one of the Peyote leaders reportedly visited the remaining shaman for treatment of certain illnesses thought to be peculiarly "Indian," and several Washo were convinced that some whites as well as Indians attended either the shaman or the white doctor depending on the type of illness. But it must be remembered that no one believed this particular Indian doctor would practice witchcraft. Witchcraft, then, had literally died out, and there was little indication in 1956 that it would be revived. Even the children of the remaining shaman were thought to be unable to obtain "power" because they did not know how to speak Washo, a prerequisite for becoming a shaman.

178 668 756 [188] Scotch's informants suggested a slightly different reason for the potential failure of shamanism: "...in order to be a shaman, one has to be chosen by a visit of a supernatural being in a dream and...'powers that be' are no longer visiting the Washo" (1957, 82). The elderly Washo still believed in witchcraft, let it be understood, but they did not believe anyone continued to practice it.

177 178 756 Downs (1961, 373) has come to a different conclusion concerning the future of the shamans and it is important to quote him at length:

> "Despite a belief in and a dependence on shamanistic curing or its latter-day counterpart, the peyote curing session, most Washo are willing patients of white doctors. This suggests that perhaps the old views are disappearing under the scientific certainty of Western Medicine. Quite the reverse seems true, however. Every failure of white medicine strengthens the Indians' belief that the real source of curing power is a gift from nature. Every success is attributed to assistance the white men have received from Indians' power. When asked the direct question: 'Why aren't there so many Indian doctors today?' my informant answered: 'Well, Indians just don't need all that power today. The white doctors know a lot of things and can cure sickness pretty good. In the old days we didn't know them things so we had to have them real powers.' This attitude, that nature provided whatever was necessary for Washo survival, crops up in other contexts....Far from disappearing, the old notions seem to be maintaining a strong hold on the minds of the Washo. As the number of active peyotists dwindle (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957), one gets the impression that the shamanistic forms may again become a more important part of Washo life."

178 754 756 It is not clear, however, whether such a revival of shamanism as perceived by Downs would include the attendant beliefs in witchcraft as well, for the faith in the one remaining shaman indicated that even though the Washo do not terminologically distinguish between shamans and sorcerers, they can accept the idea that a shaman may be wholly "good."

154 178 756 The demise of the shamans has a number of alternative implications for the frustration-aggression hypothesis. First, the decrease in Indian doctors may have coincided with decreasing frustrations in other areas of Washo life. Second, aggressions formerly directed toward shamans may have been redirected into other institutionalized outlets. Finally, the aggressions may not have been adjusted to the new circumstances and have yet to find a socially acceptable manner for their release. On the other hand, given the position of Nadel, we might expect that a decrease in the fear of shamans

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178 would foretell a greater integration of Washo society by eliminating one of the sources of manifest hostility among its members.

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86 Considering the first alternative,[3] there was little evidence for any decrease in the frustrating experiences encountered by a Washo; indeed, if anything, the trend was in the other direction. At the time shamans and fear of witchcraft were predominant, the experiences of childhood, as reported by Siskin, seemed to offer little restraint in the more obvious aspects of socialization. The weaning process was a gradual one that took place between the ages of one and two, and toilet training began only after the child was walking [854] and could understand the instructions of his parents. Until that time infants were confined to cradleboards, or what the Washo call "baby baskets," though they were taken out if restive at night and were freed for short periods during the day. Following weaning, the children were treated gently and given the most tender part of the game animals until about nine years of age (Siskin, 1941, 19-20).

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861 Washo children were taught four principal lessons of behavior: to respect their elders, to avoid fighting among themselves, to play quietly, and [183] to refrain from boasting, lying or stealing. The approved technique for en- [867] forcing these educational tenets was "to tell them to behave and talk kindly to them." Nevertheless parents still sometimes threatened to have a delinquent carried off by a wild beast or to have his eyes picked out by an owl if he did not behave (Siskin, 1941, 20). Whipping was infrequent, as Lowie (1939, 305) had also noticed: "The Washo did not strike naughty children, but merely talked to them."

861 For the most part, the recollections of my elderly informants were in
855 agreement with this description of traditional child training, and they stressed the permissive upbringing given children in the past. Young boys and girls
155 were never allowed to cry, but were attended to immediately; punishment was usually verbal rather than corporal. One man did say that if a boy continued to act very badly after he had been reprimanded, he would be thrown into ice cold water. If this did not work, then a sharply pointed stick might be thrust through his ear lobe to punish him and drive out the badness, though such an
155 act may have been more of a threat than an actual practice. The weaning
862 process was also thought to have been trying at times, for if a child would not give up the breast within two years, usually the time allotted before having another pregnancy, red pepper was placed on the nipple or a lizard was offered instead of the breast to frighten the child.

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86 Notwithstanding these more severe restraints, the permissive early training period of the Washo at the times they were visited by Lowie and Siskin appeared to be comparable to the Hopi. Frustrations did not begin until later

3 [i.e., that the decrease in Indian doctors may have coincided with decreasing frustrations in other areas of Washo life.--Analyst]

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"...the frustrations of daily life are a constant source of stress and conflict among the Washo. In addition, there is another factor which could be called 'powerlessness'.... By powerlessness is meant an inability to shape one's own destiny. Through a combination of contemporary circumstances, the bulk of the Washo find themselves unable to remain as they are and yet no available channel for change seems to exist."

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In accordance with the frustration-aggression hypothesis, the expected result of this growing restraint would be an increase in witchcraft beliefs and fear of shamans. Yet, as we have already mentioned, the number of shamans steadily declined until there was only one left in a small settlement near Dresslerville.

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The decreasing threat of witchcraft was clearly reflected in the education of the children. They were no longer taught to be afraid of older people because they might be harmful shamans, and illness and death were attributed to natural causes, such as tuberculosis. The pattern of parents forcing their children to stay near home for fear they would be made ill by "strangers," who might be "bad" shamans, had also broken down. In talking with about 15 children between the ages of four and 12, all except one girl believed the shaman was someone who had cured or could probably cure them if they were sick. The exception recalled that her parents had once threatened to call an Indian doctor to punish her if she did not behave. Adults believed this change in educating the young was mainly a consequence of eliminating those shamans thought to be responsible for witchcraft; if "bad" Indian doctors were no longer a threat, there was no reason to be afraid of them. In addition, the formal education of the boys and girls in integrated schools and attention to mass communication media -- particularly the movies -- must be considered as possible influences that undermined beliefs of the children in witchcraft.

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Given this situation of an increase in frustrations during childhood and an elimination of the means by which aggression was expressed in the past, the question of what had happened to the aggressive impulses of the Washo arose. How had education acted as a connecting link between increasing frustrations and the socially acceptable methods for canalizing aggressions now that witchcraft had left the scene? As far as we were able to ascertain, the connection was not being made. The Peyote Cult, which helped to dispose of the shamans, might have served as a satisfactory replacement for the expression of aggressions. For example, Merriam and d'Azevedo (1957, 617) provide several illustrations of Peyote members expressing hostility in ways reminiscent of the days when witchcraft beliefs were rampant:

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## ANTHROPOLOGICAL NOTES

| | Ta | K1 | K2 | Ma | Ts | Ts | Ts | Ma | K1 | Ma | Tg | Ma | K1 | Ma |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1897. Peppers | + | + | - | + | - | - | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| 1898. MONEY (Donation) | - | °- | °- | °- | + | + | + | °- | + | - | - | - | - | + |
| 1899. Beads: shell disk | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | + |
| 1900. Glass | - | - | - | - | + | - | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | + |
| 1901. Measuring: around head | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| 1901a. With middle finger | - | - | - | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 1902. With thumb | - | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | + |
| 1903. With head to elbow | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | + |

## TOBACCO AND SMOKING

N NWA 276

### Pipe

| | Ta | K1 | K2 | Ma | Ts | Ts | Ts | Ma | K1 | Ma | Tg | Ma | K1 | Ma |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| °1904. Tubular bowl | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | °+ | + | + | + | - | + | + |
| 1905. Of stone | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + |
| 1906. Convex elbow | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + |
| 1907. With stem | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + |
| 1907a. Round bowl | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | - | - |
| 1908. L-shaped bowl | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | °- | - | - |
| 1909. Of stone | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | - | - |
| 1910. With stem | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | - | - |
| °1911. Bowlder, of stone | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 1912. Stem of wood | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 1912a. Bone | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | - | + |
| 1913. Cane | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | - | - |
| 1914. Elderberry | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | - | - |
| 1915. Rosewood | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 1916. Pipe smoked by: men | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | °+ | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 1917. Primarily old men | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 1918. Women | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 1918a. "Doctor" | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 1919. Pipe passed | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + |

### Cigarette

| | Ta | K1 | K2 | Ma | Ts | Ts | Ts | Ma | K1 | Ma | Tg | Ma | K1 | Ma |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| °1920. Cane filled with tobacco | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| °1921. Elderberry filled with tobacco | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| °1922. Chewing | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |

### Miscellaneous

N NWA [759]

| | Ta | K1 | K2 | Ma | Ts | Ts | Ts | Ma | K1 | Ma | Tg | Ma | K1 | Ma |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1923. Smoking any time | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| 1924. Bedtime | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 1925. Occasional only | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 1926. At gatherings | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 1927. By shamans | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 1928. As offering | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | °+ | - | - | + |
| 1929. To spirit | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | + |
| 1929a. Sun lights pipe | + | + | + | + | °+ | °+ | + | - | - | + | - | - | - | - |

[782]

### Tobacco (pul'gum)

N NWA 249 276

| | Ta | K1 | K2 | Ma | Ts | Ts | Ts | Ma | K1 | Ma | Tg | Ma | K1 | Ma |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1929. Tobacco gathered wild | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 1929b. Plots burned to make grow | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 1930. Leaves dried and threshed | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 1931. Tobacco greased with rabbit fat | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | + | + | + | °+ |
| 1931a. Tobacco mixed with another plant | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + |

[p. 402]

Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

| | Th | Kl | Kd | Ka | Ts | Tt | Pa | Ma | At | Sa | Tg | Wd | El | mf | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1935. Leaf of kinikini (manzanita?) | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | - | - | °- | + | N |
| 1936. Root of tonsp for salve | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | W |
| 1937. Other bark | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | A |
| 1941. Tobacco ground on metate | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 249 |
| 1942. Tobacco kept in: beaksin pouch | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | 276 |
| 1943. Fur pouch | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | 304 |
| **MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **Rattles** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | N |
| °1944. Gourd rattle | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | W |
| 1945. Attached to stick | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | A |
| 1947. Used by shaman | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | 534 |
| 1950. Split-stick rattle | + | + | + | + | + | + | °- | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | W |
| 1951. 1 split | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | - | - | + | - | [756] |
| 1952. Used in exhibition dance | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | - | - | + | - | |
| °1953. Sheep-horn rattle | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | |
| 1954. Rawhide rattle | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | |
| 1955. Used by shaman | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | - | - | + | - | N |
| 1956a. Used by dancers | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | [756] |
| 1957. Rabbit's-ear rattle | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | |
| 1958. Used by shaman | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | |
| °1960. Deer's-ear rattle (wituwiga) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | |
| 1960a. Skin from ear used for rawhide rattle | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | |
| 1963. Wood-rat-fur rattle | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | |
| °1965. Hoof rattle | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | |
| 1966. Antelope hoofs | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 1967. Mt. sheep hoofs | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 1968. Deer hoofs | + | - | - | - | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | |
| 1969. No. of hoofs indeterminate (25-50) | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| °1970. Hoofs in bunch | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| °1971. Hoofs in line | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 1972. Used by shaman | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | N |
| °1973. Notched stick (mihunagi) | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | A |
| 1974. Plain, notched | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | °+ | °+ | - | - | + | [756] |
| 1976. Rubbed with stick | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | - | - | + | |
| 1978. Used by antelope shaman | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | - | - | + | |
| 1979. Used in "bear dance" | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | - | - | - | |
| 1981. Maracas (tsoa'ethiqua) | + | + | - | - | - | °- | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 1981a. Hoofs twirled on string | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | - | + | |
| 1982. Deer patella | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 1982a. Wood disk | + | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 1983. Beaksin disk | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 1983a. Rock | + | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | |
| **Bell-rasper** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| (See Games) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| °1985. Drum | + | + | + | + | °+ | °- | - | - | + | - | + | °+ | °+ | + | |
| 1986. 2-headed drum | - | + | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | |
| 1987. Body of willow rings | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | |
| 1988. 1-headed drum, or tambourine | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 1989. Body of wood | + | - | - | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | |
| 1990. Diameter (in.): about 18 | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | |
| 1990a. 24 | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | |
| 1991. Depth (in.): 1-4 | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 1992. 6-12 | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | |

[p.403]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

| | | Yo | Ki | Ki | Ku | To | Yo | Pa | Wa | At | Sa | Yg | Wd | Ki | AS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2399. Purified by washing | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| NWA 764 | 2401. Burial | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| | 2402. Body extended | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - |
| | 2404. Head in any direction | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - |
| | 2404a. West | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | - | - |
| | 2406. In rocks | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| | 2407. Rock covering | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - |
| | 2408. In earth | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | - |
| | 2410. In mountain | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | - |
| | 2412. Cremation | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | - | + | - | + | - | + | + |
| | 2413. All deceased | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + |
| | 2416. Witches | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | - | + | - | + | - | + | - |
| N [766] | 2417. Cremation in house | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| | 2418. In pyre | - | - | + | + | - | + | + | - | + | - | + | - | + | + |
| | 2419. On pyre | - | - | + | + | - | + | + | - | + | - | + | - | + | + |
| | 2420. Bones buried afterward | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + |
| | 2421. Funeral speech by old man | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | - | - |
| N | 2422. Relatives cry | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| NWA | 2423. Gifts to deceased | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + |
| 763 | 2425. Destruction of property | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| | 2425a. House torn down, moved | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| | 2426. House burned | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| N | 2427. Other property burned | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| NWA | 2428. Other property buried | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| | 2429. Some taken by relatives | + | + | - | + | - | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | + | + |
| [766] | 2431. Deceased children and adults treated alike | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| | **Mourning** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| N | 2432. Female relatives crop hair | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| NWA | 2433. Burn hair clippings | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| | 2433a. Bury hair clippings anywhere | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 765 | 2434. Throw away hair clippings | - | + | - | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | + |
| | 2437. Gash legs | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | + | - |
| | 2438a. Smear faces | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| | 2439. Abstain from washing | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | + |
| | 2440. Months before remarriage: any number | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | - |
| | 2440a. 12 or more | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | - | - | + | + |
| | 2441. Male relatives crop hair | + | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| | 2442. Burn hair clippings | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| | 2443. Throw away hair clippings | - | + | - | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | - | + | + |
| | 2444. Abstain from gambling (months): up to 3 | - | + | + | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | + | + | + | - |
| | 2444a. 9-12 | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | + |
| | 2446. Abstain from washing | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | + |
| N | 2447. Months before remarriage: any number | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | - |
| NWA | 2447a. 12 | - | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | + |
| | 2447b. 24 | + | - | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| | 2448. Mourning terminated by mourner washing | - | - | - | + | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | + |
| 764 | 2450. Taboo on name of dead | + | - | - | - | + | + | - | + | - | - | + | + | - | + |
| | 2451. Permanent | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | - | + | - | + |
| | 2452. Only in presence of kin | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| | **2453. Annual Mourning Ceremony** | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| | **RELIGION** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| N | **Shamanism (poha'g'amé)** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NWA | 2469. Male shamans (mana pohari) | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 756 | 2470. Female shamans (mroni pohari) | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |

[p. 412]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

| | Pa | El | El | Ea | Pa | Pa | Pa | Wa | At | Ba | Tg | Wi | Ki | Ak |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2471. Shamanistic powers received: in childhood | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2472. Any time | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2473. Power inherited from father | - | - | - | + | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | + |
| 2474. From mother | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + |
| 2475. Before relative's death | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + |
| 2476. After relative's death | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + |
| 2477. Source of power in natural dreams (unsought) | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2478. Sought in mountains | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + |
| 2481. Shaman interprets vision | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2482. Shaman supervises sick youth | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2482a. Youth does not disclose dreams | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2483. Power may be refused | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2484. One doctor has several powers | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2485. Vision gives: songs | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + |
| 2486. Dances | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2487. Paraphernalia | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | - |
| 2488. Paint | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2489. Methods | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2490. Doctor's assistant | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2491. Equipment of various doctors: stick | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2492. Feathers | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2493. Eagle down | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2494. Fire | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | - |
| 2495. Clay | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 2496. Lemolas rattle | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2496a. Rawhide rattle | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2497. Cocoon rattle | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 2498. Flute | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | - |
| 2499. Loss of equipment dangerous to doctor | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2500. Curing Performances | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2501. Performance in outdoor brush enclosure | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2502. In house | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | - |
| 2503. Doctor sings | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2504. Audience joins song | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2505. Doctor smokes | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2506. Assistant lights his pipe | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2507. Pipe passed to right | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | + |
| 2507a. Left (clockwise) | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | - | - |
| 2508. Doctor talks | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2509. Assistant interprets | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2510. Doctor dances | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2511. Doctor walks | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2512. Doctor sucks out of patient: | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2513. Blood | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2514. Snake | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 2515. Flint | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | - | - |
| 2516. Stick | - | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2517. Worm | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2518. Other or various objects | + | - | - | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - |
| 2519. Doctor sucks through: mouth only | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2519a. Bone | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | - | - |
| 2520. Stick | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | - | - |
| 2522. Feather | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | - | - |
| 2523. Doctor goes into trance | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2524. Doctor vomits disease object | + | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2525. Doctor spits out disease object | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2526. Doctor exhibits disease object | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2526a. Rubs object on hand | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2527. Doctor blows away disease | + | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + |
| 2528. Doctor brushes away disease | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |

NWA 756

NWA 757 756

NWA 755

[p.413]

Washo NT20
Achomawi N56

ANTHROPOLOGICAL ARCHIVES

| | Ta | K1 | K2 | Ma | Tu | Th | Pa | Wa | At | Sa | Tg | Ma | Ki | Ka |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2529. Doctor sprinkles water on patient | • | • | – | • | • | • | • | – | • | • | • | • | • | • |
| 2530. Blows water from mouth | • | – | – | • | • | • | • | – | • | • | • | • | • | • |
| 2531. Doctor presses ashes on patient | • | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | • | • | • | – |
| 2532. Doctor lays hands on patient | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • |
| 2533. Doctor touches patient with stick | – | – | – | – | • | • | • | • | – | • | • | • | • | – |
| 2533a. Doctor paints patient | • | • | • | • | • | • | – | • | • | • | • | • | • | • |
| 2534. Doctor touches patient with fire drill | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 2534a. With eagle feathers | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | – | • | • | • | • | • | • |
| 2535. Doctor handles fire | • | • | – | – | – | – | – | – | • | • | • | • | • | – |
| 2536. Places hands in fire | • | • | – | – | – | – | – | – | • | • | • | • | • | – |
| 2537. Picks up fire | • | • | – | – | – | – | – | – | • | • | • | • | • | – |
| 2538. Stands in fire | • | • | – | – | – | – | – | – | • | • | • | • | • | – |
| 2539. Puts coals in mouth | • | • | – | – | – | – | – | – | • | • | • | • | • | – |
| 2540. Sleight-of-hand | – | • | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | • | • | • | – |
| 2541. Doctor recovers lost soul | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | – |
| 2542. Doctor's soul leaves body | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | – |
| 2544. Doctor exhibits and restores soul | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | • | • | – | – | – |
| **Special Powers of Shamans** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2545. Rattlesnake-bite-curing power | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • |
| 2546. Power from dream of rattlesnake | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | – | • | • | • | • | – | – |
| 2547. Dream of buzzard | • | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | • |
| 2548. Power to handle snakes | • | • | – | • | • | • | • | – | • | • | • | • | • | • |
| 2549. Curing by sucking | • | • | • | • | • | • | – | – | • | • | • | • | • | • |
| 2549a. By tying with horsehair | • | • | • | • | • | – | – | – | • | • | • | • | – | – |
| 2550. By sucking out snake | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | • | • | • | – | – | – |
| 2551. Wound-curing power | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | – | • | • | • | • | • | • |
| 2552. Power from dream of closing hole | • | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 2553. Weather-control power, special dream | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | – | • | • | • | • | • | • |
| 2553a. Jack Wilson only weather-control shaman | – | – | • | • | • | • | • | • | – | – | • | • | • | – |
| 2554. Power to make rain | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | – | • | • | • | • | • | • |
| 2555. Make rain stop | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | – | • | • | • | • | • | • |
| 2556. Make wind to remove snow | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | – | • | • | • | • | • | • |
| 2557. Childbirth shaman: male | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 2557a. Female | – | • | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | • |
| 2558. Bear shaman: impersonates bear | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 2559. Transforms self into bear | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 2560. Power of rapid travel | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 2561. Invulnerable | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 2562. Poisoners distinct from doctors | – | • | – | – | • | • | • | • | – | – | • | • | • | • |
| 2562a. Poisoners called stukapuhavi | – | – | – | – | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • |
| 2563. Power from coyote | – | – | – | – | • | • | • | • | – | – | • | • | • | – |
| 2564. Power from various animals | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | • |
| 2565. Power to foretell future | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| **Miscellaneous** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2567. Shaman may decline case | • | – | – | – | – | – | – | • | • | • | • | • | • | – |
| 2568. Killed for declining | – | – | – | • | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | • |
| 2569. Unsuccessful shaman returns fee | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | – |
| 2570. New doctor assists old shaman | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • |
| 2571. New doctor demonstrates power | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • |
| 2572. By free doctoring | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • |
| 2572a. By free doctoring 3 times or more | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • |
| 2574. Prayers to personal power (guardian spirit) (tjumaimpa) | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • |
| 2575. To nature | • | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | • | • | • | – | – | – |
| 2576. To sun | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • |
| 2577. Offerings to 'nature' | – | – | – | – | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • |
| 2578. To ghost (tsawa) | – | • | • | • | • | • | • | – | • | • | • | • | • | – |

N W A 755
N W A 756 789
N W A 754
N [756] 756
N W A 756 681 755
N W A 776 782

[p. 414]

N 283 [72] string (twine) had a left or counterclockwise twist (Loud, 73).

1190. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 73): only .6 per cent of rope made by clockwise twist.

## Pottery

N 328 N [114] 1195. The account in Leonard concerning pottery at Humboldt Sink must be disregarded because there is nothing in the story which would locate the pottery at Humboldt except an editor's note. All logic and internal evidence point toward Mono Lake as the area where Leonard saw pottery in use. Steward, 1932, 269, admits Leonard's reference to pottery in a note: "the pottery described here and that seen by Leonard at Humboldt Lake may ultimately connect that on the Columbia river with the Southwest." (See note 338.)

## CRADLES

N 354 482 1245a. The first cradle used is a simple, twined basket, which is replaced when soiled, usually about once a week, until the child is about a month old when it is bound in the elaborate, rigid carrying cradle (Kelly, 132, pl. 28).

W [354 482] 1246. Wa, Pa: Cradle as in Owens Valley (Steward, pl. 9). This is different from most Northern Paiute cradles; see excellent examples in Kelly, pls. 30, 31.

1259. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

1260. Paviotso: "Cradle baskets have adjustable hoods on which appear in color phallic designs proclaiming the sex of the child" (Curtis, 71). Wd: Both BJ and SC, my two principal informants of Wada, were blind, which might explain why they denied that hood designs revealed sex of child. The cradles now have the different designs, and my women interpreters said they had heard it was an ancient custom. Ki: BA, blind informant, did not know hood designs were distinct for babies of different sex. Informants with good vision said it was a Paiute practice since "the world was made."

1266. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

## MUTILATIONS

W [304 776] N 304 1301. Wa: Shaman only. (See note 1334.)

1306. Owens Valley: -, yet Owens Valley Indian said Walker River and Yerington Paiute tattooed (Steward, 275). Kn: Tattooing not known to old-time Indians (GW). To: LP thought it was old custom of Toe, but knew no details. BS was certain the old Toe did not tattoo.

W [304] 1307a. Ki: + (Kelly, 116).

1308. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

1319. Pa: Child forced to lie in one position "until head set." No violent movement for some weeks after birth.

[p.435(A)]

N 436 177 489 W [439] insisted that bead money was very old among Paiute. AE: Shell beads obtained from California to use as money even before white man arrived. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

## Tobacco and Smoking

N 276 1895. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319): Field Museum has specimen from Smith Valley. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 52). Wa: Stone for pipes obtained in mountains near Topaz.

W [135] 1902. Ki: + (Kelly, 139): Kelly was told by some informants that the elbow pipe was aboriginal, others denied it. She shows an elbow pipe on her plate 32,b.

N [177 772] 1906. The monitor pipe was known to be a recent introduction.

1906a. Lovelock Cave: Loud (pl. 52,a).

W [276 756 887] 1910. Wa: Only "doctors" and a few old men smoked much in old days.

1914. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319).

1915. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

1916. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 320).

N [782] 1926. Tg: "One old Paiute from Steen Mountain offered smoke to spirits" (DS). He was Tütsikwdkwa, or Tai Rida Jim, a relative to Lee and Old Winnemucca.

N [756 782] 1928a. To, Tü: Shaman did not make offering of smoke to spirits. He did, however, hold the pipe toward the east and the sun would light it.

## Tobacco

N 249 824 Paviotso: + (Lowie, 215): called pu'iBa"ᵖᵃ.

1931a. AE: Skunk fat also rubbed on tobacco.

1933. Ki: + (Kelly, 181): said manzanita, Arctostaphylos nevadensis Grey, was mixed with Nicotiana.

# MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

N 534

## Rattles

1944. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

W [534] 1950. Pa: It was used only by Mono Indians when they came to Walker Lake to dance. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N [172 756] 1963. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 14, p. 44).

1960. "The Paviotso rattle was employed only by shamans, and consisted of the two ears of a deer sewn together" (Curtis, 71). Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

N [178] 1965. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 44).

N [281] 1970, 1971. Hoofs are first tied in line along a buckskin string; the string is wound about the end of a short stick to form a bunch.

1973. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 278): his informants thought "musical rasp" used at Pyramid Lake. K: + (Lowie, 304): notched stick on skin resonator used in antelope dance. Sa: Notched rasp was introduced to Sawa with the Bear dance about 20 years ago. Previous to that time the antelope shaman was only one to use it.

N [178 759]

N 534 Tg: Notched stick borrowed from north about 30 years ago.

## Buzzers

1981. To: Plaything brought in by white folks.

## Drum; Musical Bow

N [77] 1985. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 278): yet Owens Valley Indians said Walker Lake Paiute used drum. To: - (LP). To: Before white people, drum was unknown to Paiute. Wd: - (BJ). Single-headed drum obtained from Bunipui before white people arrived (SC). Ki: - (Kelly, 147): says drum was recently acquired, but my informants insisted it was always known. Paviotso: Drum not found (Curtis, 71).

W [534] 1994. Mono Lake: + (Steward, 278). Wa: - (Smith, notes).

## Whistle; Flute

N [756] 2002. Paviotso: "The medicine men used also bird-bone whistles" (Curtis, 71). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2003. To: Whistles also used by Indian doctor. Wa: Whistle was double type; used only by Indian doctor.

W [756] 2004. To: Flute known since white contact.

N [77] Wd: - (SC). Owens Valley: + (Steward, fig. 9, p. 277).

2005. Paviotso: - (Curtis, 71).

N [172] 2007. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 39).

## MARRIAGE

2018. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 295).

2019. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

2020. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N [684] 2023. To: If a husband learns that his wife has been with another man, a fight always follows, after which both men leave the woman and will have no more to do with her.

N 595 [77] 2027. At: A polyandrous marriage in McDermitt now with woman married to two men who are not brothers. "In old days people would not allow a woman two husbands at once." (See Stewart, 1937.)

W [583] 2037. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N 591 2039. Ki: Kelly, 166, reports "initial matrilocal residence was the rule."

2040. To: Residence variable; however, usually it is matrilocal.

N 684 2041. Ku: Al said women were stoned to death for infidelity in old days. To: Wife is beaten if caught in the act by husband.

2041, 2042. To: - (LP).

N 586 2045, 2046. To: - (LP).

548 2047. To: No divorce (LP).

2050. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

[p.439]

Washo NT20
Achomawi M35

N 756 781 taken once to a special deep lake where he was given a series of tests, and so on. An especially capable man was tutor. Boy was tested in swimming and hiking and was given a special method of drinking. All boys prayed and fasted for special powers desired.

2481. Kl: If a boy is sick, an old shaman decides if the sickness is a result of non-acceptance of power. The boy is given a willow to hold; if it shakes he is supposed to be a doctor, if it is steady, illness is due to other causes.

2483. Kl: If boy does not want to be a doctor, the old shaman sucks "power" from boy's forehead in the form of a stone, bullet, and the like. As the shaman exhibits the power, he asks the boy again if he does not want to keep it; if not, it is thrown away.

W [756] 2491. Wa: Indian doctor has pipe and special, small, feathered basket.

N 756 2492. Pa: Used eagle-wing whistle also.

2495. Kü: White clay sprinkled on paraphernalia (Lowie, 294). Tö: Jack Wilson used sand as ammunition to shoot rabbits. He also had power to melt the lead of enemy bullets or to make guns miss fire.

2498. Kü: Paiute doctors never whistled. If someone in room where shaman was doctoring were to whistle, shaman would drop dead.

## Curing Performances

N 755 2505. Tö: Cigarettes have replaced pipe in doctoring; dreams tell how many cigarettes to use.

W [755] 2511. Wa: Shaman makes a fire and walks around it 4 times.

2514. Kü: Objects, such as snakes, flints, worms, were sucked out of patient after they had been shot into him by evil shaman. Kl: + (Kelly, 192).

A [755] 2526. AE: Big shaman places new medicine in disease objects and dispatches them into bad shaman who sent them into patient.

2540. Kl: One shaman rolled dust in cigarette paper and it turned to tobacco. Another put snow in his pipe and it changed to tobacco.

W [755] 2541. Wa: CR never saw "doctor" return soul of dying; he just heard about it being done by Washo.

## Special Powers of Shaman

W [755] 2545, 2546. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2549. To: - (LP). Tö: Rain water used to cure snake bite and the shaman caused rain.

N 755 2549a. To: - (LP).

756 2551. At: Old Chief Winnemucca was attributed magical as well as political power by the Paiute in Idaho, Oregon, northern Nevada, and California. PS said he could suck shot from a wound and stop bleeding.

[p. 443 (B)]

Washo NT20
Achomawi N35

A [756 787] 2552. AE: Power for wound curing came from dream of frog.

N 756 789 2553. AE: Charlie Turner was last great Indian "doctor" who could make it rain at will. Just before he died, "maybe twenty years ago," he brought a bad storm when a rancher would not sell him a ton of good alfalfa hay but told him to take free some wild hay.

W [756] 2553a. Wa: The Washo had heard of Jack Wilson's power to control weather, but no Washo shaman possessed the art. Legends concerning the special powers possessed by Jack Wilson were extremely widespread. Some informants spoke of him as soon as I mentioned control of weather, others remembered hearing of him when I mentioned his name. Wd: Old Winnemucca said to have had power to control weather.

N 754 756 683 2554. To: See note 2549.

2558. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

2562. Kl: Poisoners became doctors as did other people, yet they used power for evil instead of for good. A good shaman could detect a poison doctor and upon his accusation the poisoner was killed and cremated. To: Death is caused by foreign object sent into victim by poison doctor. A good doctor can suck this out and save patient. Wa: CR and Susie said that Old Captain Pete's wife is a poisoner. They said she caused the death of Susie's son just a few months before I interviewed them on July 19, 1936.

## Miscellaneous

N 755 756 [177] 2569. K2, To, Sa: In old days shaman's fee was returned if person died. Nowadays shamans do as white doctors and so keep fee regardless of state of patient. AE: Payment is not made until patient is well.

A [755] 2570a. At: See note 2477.

N 776 2574. Kl: In addition to the usual phenomena—mountains, trees, crows, snakes, clouds, which functioned as personal powers of shaman—the Northern Paiute had water babies (paoha). A mean water baby lived in Winnemucca Lake; it would cause the death of anyone who saw it. The one in Pyramid Lake was not so bad if placated by saying, "This water in lake is for both of us. Don't hurt me; we're both the same." A great green snake in Winnemucca Lake was also dangerous.

N 782 2577. To: Offering made to spirits by sprinkling seeds during the spring dances and by sprinkling on grave. (Also see note 401, To.)

N 782 765 2578. Kl: Dead were given food, beads, and other things, sprinkled on the ground while old man said, "Don't come back, stay away, we don't want you."

2581-2590. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

W [782] 2581a. Ceremony described under note 401, To.

[p. 444 (A)]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20



N W 182 571 *795 [648]

even where Washo and Paiute occupy the same colony, as in Reno, peyotists and nonpeyotists are not friendly and keep to opposite ends of the street."

The unification of peyotists into a small vigorous minority roundly denounced by the majority of Washo-Paiute is one of the most significant features in this acculturation study.[a] To understand it, let us review the opposing opinions and attempt to ascertain their foundations. To learn the bases for the different reactions to the new cult, direct questions were asked. Although individuals may have basic, even subconscious, psychological compulsions which are not exposed by this procedure, we do obtain a valuable understanding of the forces operative in opinion formation. Asking peyotists and nonpeyotists why they believe as they do reveals that the reasons for and against the cult fall into the same categories. Almost every explanation in its support has a counterpart in the statements of the opposition. They can be arranged under medical, religious, ethical, prestige, and economic reasons for acceptance and rejection. Kinship and desire for social contacts also aided the diffusion.

N W 182 755 *795

As might be expected from the fact that peyotism was first presented and widely advertised as a curing ritual, the greatest number of arguments in its favor have to do with its therapeutic value. Thirty-seven peyotists told me of more than fifty cures supposedly effected by peyote. Seventeen types were enumerated, ranging from cuts, colds, and headaches to goiter, rheumatism, and tuberculosis, whooping cough, blindness, and hemorrhoids. To the believers, peyote, "just like X-ray," reveals the location of the malignancy and, in some cases, the progress toward recovery.

N W [648] [756]

Distrust of government doctors, nurses, and hospitals, and faith in shamans contributed to this belief in peyote.[b] Nonmembers, however, fear hospitals as much as do peyotists, some of whom do go to hospitals at times.[c] Most protracted illnesses for which peyote is used have been treated also by white doctors and Indian shamans. Even many nonpeyotists believe that peyote may cure in some cases, shamans in others, and that sometimes even government doctors succeed where others fail. Joe Green considers himself a shaman regardless of participation in peyote meetings, and Tom Mitchell (P,4) "doctors" his wife between meetings. To Joe, peyote is more potent than his shamanistic power, although analogous, just as peyotism is better than Protestantism, although similar.[d]

N W 761 *795 828

Opposition to peyote on "medical" grounds takes the form of two beliefs: that peyote causes insanity, and that it actually causes death. Forty-five Indians told me they resist peyote because it leads to permanent insanity. Joaquin Brown's crimes and derangement are cited by Indians from Nixon to Fish Springs (beyond Bishop) in Owens Valley.

N W 158 *795

When Joaquin espoused peyotism, he did so with the enthusiasm he probably dis-

[a] The unification of intertribal peyotists in western Nevada and eastern California appears analogous to the Plains practice of intertribal meetings. La Barre states (p. 60) that "at a Shawnee leader's meeting at McCloud there were 12 Kickapoo, 6 Shawnee, 3 Caddo, 2 Kiowa, 2 Wichita, 1 Seminole, 1 Sauk and Fox, 1 Oto, 1 Potowatomi, and 1 Negro."

[b] See Appendix III for statistics.

[c] Reported in U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

[d] Willie Sunkey went to the hospital when he was most active in the cult. Sam Dick's wife Ida was in the hospital in November, 1938, with bladder trouble. Joe Green was at the hospital for trachoma treatments in June, 1939.

[e] Peyote's appeal on the Plains was also curing. La Barre, 43, states that "doctoring . . . is a majority of cases is the expressed purpose of calling a meeting," and that "peyote doctoring has been the occasion many times for the spread of peyotism from tribe to tribe." Radin, 1914, 12, found that among the Winnebago "Rave relied principally for new converts upon the knowledge of this great curative virtue of the peyote." Schultes, 1938, 704, states that in the Plains "the medical reputation of peyote has been fundamental in the establishment, spread, and, to some extent, in the maintenance of the peyote cult."

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20



if the introduced complex is similar to some aspects of the indigenous culture, or can be interpreted in the light of existing principles.[a] The second is the cultural disintegration theory, which says that peoples experiencing cultural disintegration and degradation will readily accept new religions, especially those which promise the miraculous restoration of former conditions of life.[b] So satisfactory have appeared the interpretations based on these postulates they have almost become truisms in ethnology. Although no one has assumed they explained everything, they have been employed almost exclusively, either because data for more detailed analysis were lacking or because the problem seemed adequately solved.

How do the facts of the diffusion of the peyote cult to the Washo-Paiute fit into these theories? Application of the cultural compatibility theory does not result in a satisfactory explanation. The following ceremonial elements in the aboriginal culture might be said to resemble those in the peyote complex: the Great Basin curing performance is a semisocial affair in which both sexes assist the shaman by singing and smoking; staff, rattle, feathers, and eagle-wingbone whistle are used; curing ceremonies last all night and have midnight intermissions; the Washo have a ceremonial number four and clockwise ceremonial direction; shamans have visions; Jimson weed is used for curing, visions, luck, prognostication, clairvoyance—"Roots are ground, soaked, and boiled, concoction being drunk."[c] Thus, peyotism and Washo-Paiute ceremonial usage have a number of elements in common:

However, if the cultural compatibility explanation is carried to its logical conclusion, one should list the ceremonial elements which differ from those in peyotism, for if similarities favor acceptance, differences should hinder it. Elements in aboriginal Washo-Paiute ceremonialism unlike those in peyotism are: an extremely simple curing ceremony in which only the shaman's personal songs are sung and a tubular pipe is smoked; no drum is used; the rattles are made of cocoons, rawhide, or deerhoofs instead of gourds; the staff is not passed around but is stuck in the ground; single feathers instead of a fan are used; the Northern Paiute ceremonial number is five, and the ceremonial direction counterclockwise; powers are received in visions during normal sleep, visions being of spirits, water babies, and animals, which represent the shaman's supernatural power; in curing, the shaman goes into a trance to allow his soul to pursue and return the lost soul of the sick person, or he removes stones, insects, blood, etc., from the patient by sucking.

When dissimilarities as well as similarities are considered, analysis becomes complicated by the necessity of evaluating the relative strength of the opposing factors. Furthermore, with regard to Washo-Paiute peyotism, the problem is more

[a] Radin, 1914, 7: "We have, then at the beginning, apparently the introduction of only one new element,—the peyote; with possibly a few Christian teachings. Everything else seems to be typically Winnebago, and in consonance with their shamanistic practices. On the whole, the extension of the Winnebago cultural background seems to have been so instantaneous that so far as the specific cultural traits of the Winnebago are concerned, there was no introduction of a new element." Shonle, 59: ". . . the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of Peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread." Opler, 164: ". . . the reason for [the peyote cult's] slavish acceptance is not far to seek. The elements, or quite similar ones, were already present in Apache ceremonial usage." La Barre, 121 (also, 7, 117): "Conceivably it could spread until it embraced all Plains, Basin, and Woodlands groups whose earlier culture is sufficiently consonant with its concepts . . . it appears that the pre-peyote mescal bean cult prepared the way somewhat for the use of the narcotic cactus."

[b] Kroeber, 1925, 868–873, assumes that the Ghost Dance of 1870 spread to California, whereas that of 1890 diffused to the Plains, because "the native civilization of northern California appears to have suffered as great a disintegration by 1870 . . . as the average tribe of the central United States had undergone by 1890." See also Lowie, 1925, 188–200, and many others.

[c] Steward, 1933, 318.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20



TABLE 2—(*Continued*)

| Tribes—(*Continued*) | Peyotists (percentage) |
|---|---|
| Chippewa (Leech Lake Agency) | 5 |
| Yanktonai Sioux (Lower Brule Agency) | 0 |
| Omaha (Omaha Agency) | 90 |
| Little Osage (Osage Agency) | 50 |
| Oto and Missouri (Oto Agency) | 50 |
| Pawnee (Pawnee Agency) | 20 |
| Northern Cheyenne, Brule Sioux (Pine Ridge Agency) | 5 |
| Kaw, Ponca, Tonkawa (Ponca Agency) | 60 |
| Prairie band of Potawatomi (Potawatomi Agency) | 16 |
| Rosebud Sioux (Rosebud Agency) | 0.7 |
| Eastern Shawnee, Otawa, Quapaw, Seneca, Wyandotte (Seneca Agency) | 2 |
| Absentee Shawnee, Mexican Kickapoo (Shawnee Agency) | 10 |
| North Arapaho, eastern band of Shoshoni (Shoshoni Agency) | 7.5 |
| Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux (Sisseton Agency) | 0 |
| Capote and Moache Ute (Southern Ute Agency) | 5[b] |
| Sioux (Standing Rock Agency) | 0 |
| Northern Cheyenne (Tongue River Agency) | 35 |
| Uinta, Uncompahgre, and White River Ute (Uinta and Ouray Agency) | 50 |
| Capote and Moache Ute (Ute Mountain Agency) | 90[b] |
| Winnebago (Winnebago Agency) | 33 |
| Ponca, Santee Sioux, Yankton Sioux (Yankton Agency) | 20 |

[b] Corrected by letter from S. F. Stacher, Superintendent, dated at Ignacio, Colorado, October 28, 1938, which agrees with personal observations made in January, 1938.

N W 162 795 103 171 484

columns on the right contain total population figures and the number of converts in each community. Irregularity is the characteristic feature revealed by table 1.

Table 2, above, presents the available information on the percentage of the Indian population of various tribes and agencies who have become members of the peyote cult.

In the following table (table 3) the percentage of peyotists and nonpeyotists in the several cate-

[text continues on top of p. 125]

TABLE 3

PARTICIPATIONAL STATUSES AMONG 1000 INDIVIDUALS IN ANALYZED TOWNS AS OF NOVEMBER, 1938
(In percentages)

| Categories | 753 Nonpeyotists | 247 Peyotists | 247 Peyotists | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | 88 Active | 159 Inactive |
| Prosperous | 5.3 | 5.7 | 10.2 | 3.8 |
| Poor | 3.4 | 4.1 | 3.4 | 4.4 |
| Energetic | 5.4 | 5.6 | 9.0 | 3.8 |
| Lazy | 2.8 | 3.6 | 4.5 | 3.0 |
| Heavy drinkers | 6.6 | 7.7 | 10.2 | 6.3 |
| Never drink | 1.7 | 2.0 | 3.4 | 1.3 |
| Active Christians | 6.0 | 4.4 | 4.5 | 4.4 |
| Shamans | 1.3 | 2.0 | 2.3 | 1.9 |
| Councilmen | 1.0 | 0.8 | 1.1 | 0.6 |
| Mixed-bloods | 13.1 | 10.9 | 5.7 | 13.8 |

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